

# The Nation

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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1894.

## The Week.

THE declaration of Congressman Harter against the Gorman-Brice tariff bill will find an echo among Democrats in all parts of the country. As the real character of the bill, as doctored by Gorman and Brice and other protection allies, has been disclosed in one iniquity after another, the disgust of all friends of tariff reform has been deepening, until to-day they are agreed in saying with Mr. Harter that, while there may be a distinction between the present bill and the McKinley act, there is practically no real difference, and that, rather than have this bill become a law, it would be better "to let the McKinley bill, with its enormous taxes and its startling Treasury deficiency, work out its own damnation." The fate of the Democratic party, if it be not hopelessly sealed already, lies in the hands of the Democrats of the House. If they will stand with Mr. Harter for their own bill and unalterably against the Brice-Gorman-McKinley bill, they can force the conference committee to accept it, and can force the Senate also to adopt it. In that way alone can the party save even a shred of its character, and thus have a hope for success in the future.

It is good news, confirmed by the *Wool and Cotton Reporter*, that the Senate finance committee has already been frightened out of its high-protectionist cotton schedule, and has gone back to the House ad-valorem rates. This leaves the *Reporter's* leading article in rather ridiculous plight. It was written to show what was the "secret of the success of the Fall River manufacturers" in getting the finance committee to accept their specific schedule. It was, it seems, because they went to Washington and "fought hard" and "labored earnestly with Senator Gorman" and "each member of the committee." Their example was held up by the *Reporter* as a guide to other manufacturers in getting what they wanted, with much wise remark on the proper way to get "arguments" before the committee. But its Washington despatch turned this sweet morsel to ashes in its mouth, and it falls violently upon the committee in this fashion: "And so the shifting, bickering, dickering course of tariff legislation continues." When the dickering gets you your rates, it is "argument" and an "excellent bill" on "correct principles"; but when the dickering goes against you, it is "disgusting and disturbing." We call it good news that the protectionist cotton schedule has been

abandoned, because it shows that the finance committee has winced under the public exposure of its trickery in that matter, and also because it shows what the House can do if it stands up stiffly for its own moderate bill as against the Senate surrender.

The report of the debate on Senator Lodge's amendment to declare commercial war on Great Britain in order to compel her to adopt bimetalism has reached us in the *Congressional Record*. Considering that it was led by a Harvard graduate, the successor of Webster and Sumner and Everett, it is enough to make any patriotic American blush. His chief supporters were Stewart of Nevada and Peffer of Kansas. Senator McPherson made a rational speech against the amendment, and asked Lodge whether he meant it to be taken seriously; showing that he does not know Lodge. The whole proceedings read like a discussion in an Oklahoma debating society. Lodge's first and leading argument in favor of his motion was the quarter from which opposition to it came, beginning with that wicked paper, the *Evening Post*, which of course he "never reads," but to which a friend had "called his attention." Then came "the Canadian papers" and the *London Times*. Surely, whatever these oppose must be right. Lodge might have gone further on this line. The whole civilized world is laughing at him. Is not this enough for any ordinary blatherskite or demagogue? The only test of right or expediency possessed by the school of politicians to which Lodge belongs seems to be the disapprobation of decent people. When they find that nearly all good men hate them, and all intelligent men mock them, they slap their knees and cry "Ha, ha!" Their great men, like McKinley in the late canvass, are men who have somehow incurred the detestation of mankind. Lodge was asked whether he really meant to begin a commercial war with England by provoking her to retaliation. He admitted that this would not be unwelcome to him. Retaliatory duties would give free trade "its final blow." He wanted to "strike at English trade," Australian wool, Canadian lumber, and Cape diamonds, and he could not forget that it "was London merchants who begged for the repeal of the Stamp Act." He let out, however, at the close of his remarks, what his "little game" was. What he sought was simply to "put the Democrats in a hole." Listen to this from the "scholar in politics":

"Politically, I trust that the Democratic party will vote this amendment down. They have paraded in large sections of this country as the only friends of silver. I should enjoy seeing them discuss it with their consti-

tuents after defeating this amendment. Politically, I should be delighted to see them kill an amendment which looks to a discrimination against England in the interest of silver."

The sentence of Coxey and two of his associates to imprisonment of twenty days, and the imposition of a fine of five dollars in addition upon Coxey and his "marshal" for "trespassing upon the grass" in the capitol grounds, constitute a fitting outcome for the "great industrial army" movement which was heralded as certain to bring 100,000 men together at Washington. There was an interesting colloquy between the judge and the counsel for Coxey just preceding the sentence. The counsel assured the court that the conviction was asked by those "who are all-powerful in the administration of this government." "Who are they?" asked the judge. "The parties who are dominant, who are all-powerful," replied the counsel. "Who are these myths, these ghosts?" pursued the judge. Then came the awful truth from the reluctant counsel: "Those who are in favor of the gold standard." "If that is so," said the undaunted judge, "they have not reached this court." "On the one side," continued the counsel, "you have the money power, on the other the poor and struggling masses—by which will your honor be influenced?" "By neither," replied the judge; and then he sentenced the representatives of the "struggling masses" to twenty days' imprisonment for violation of the laws, and a low, vulgar fine of \$5 for tramping on the grass, as if the great men were no better than ordinary tramps. This marks the end of the most ludicrous movement ever seriously considered by a great people. After a few more struggles with the constabulary and police forces of the far West, the few remaining contingents of the "army" will be scattered or put in jail, and no more will be heard of them.

One of the new "ethical teachers" has been brought up with a turn. The president of Drake University in Des Moines, Ia., Mr. Aylesworth, lost his head over the Coxey business last month. When one of the "industrial armies" under "Gen." Kelly reached the western boundary of the State, he left his institution and visited the camp, professing to study the "economics" of the movement in a scientific spirit. But he began by authorizing the announcement that he had come in from Omaha, then infected with Coxeyism, because he was "ashamed to hail from Iowa," and he ended his visit by inviting the "General" to address the students of the university when he should reach Des Moines. The army in due course of time reached Des Moines, but Kelly did

not address the students. The reason was that the trustees of the institution had held a meeting and adopted a declaration that the university is not an exponent of any new social scheme, that it believes in the old and homely virtues of industry, economy, and integrity; that its mission is not to engage in crusades for testing theories to correct the ills of society; that the teaching or endorsement of any political dogmas or partisan doctrines is absolutely forbidden, and that any violation of these principles would furnish sufficient cause for the summary dismissal of the offender from the faculty. If the higher institutions of learning are to retain their authority, it will be by such restraint of the flighty Ayiesworths at the hands of "level-headed" trustees.

The sanity of the professors who write the editorial pages of the *Yale Review* is in grateful contrast with the much "ethics" which hath made so many college professors mad. In the May number there is a particularly effective refutation of the statement, so commonly accepted, that the present industrial depression is the worst the United States has ever passed through. Testing the matter by the statistics of mercantile failures, in proportion to the total business of the country, and by labor troubles, the conclusion is reached that the panic of 1893 was considerably more disastrous than that of 1884, but somewhat less so than that of 1873-'74, and vastly less so than that of 1857. In regard to the many railroad receiverships which have so powerfully impressed the imaginations of some writers, the article very truthfully remarks that "the crisis has simply served to prevent them [many roads] from keeping up false appearances any longer." Equally just is what is said of labor disturbances: "As yet the strikes of 1894 have not begun to equal those of 1885-'86 in importance, and are far from being as dangerous as those of 1877."

The Populists in the South seem disposed to use the negro vote against the white Democrats. It is many years since colored voters played any part in the politics of Georgia, but they are apparently to have considerable influence this year. At the recent Populist State Convention there was a number of negro delegates, and noticeable deference was shown them, one being made a member of the State executive committee. The regular Democrats are indignant at the third-party men for their inclination to make the negro again a factor in politics, but it is not going to be so easy as it once was to maintain the race line. The repeal of the federal election laws has removed the chief argument which so long held

the whites together, and there are signs in all parts of the South that independents will no longer be deterred from seeking the help of the blacks if they see a chance of success in such an alliance.

The expulsion of Powderly from the Knights of Labor calls attention to the downfall of both the man and the organization. Eight years ago both were at the height of their power. The Knights of Labor were precipitating strikes all over the country in the spring of 1886, and the master-workman was treated by the politicians as the head of a new power in the government of the country. During the month of April, Powderly was invited to appear before a House committee, and a member suggested that it might be "well to consider what, in your judgment, can be constitutionally done [in the interest of Labor], and what might be done and ought to be done by amendments to the Constitution." The master-workman thanked the Congressman for the suggestion, and he also promised to comply with the request of another member of the committee that, in considering this question, he would "take into view the complex nature of this government, and the divided responsibility between federal and State legislation, so as to make your suggestions such as the national legislature can duly act upon." Now that the organization has practically collapsed and Powderly himself is expelled by those who cling to the wreck, it is hard to believe that only a few years ago the leader of the Knights of Labor was regarded as one of the "great powers."

The silver plank adopted last week by the Missouri Democratic Convention is represented as a great victory for Bland and his ideas, but an examination of the plank itself does not bear this out. It marks, rather, a complete retreat on Bland's part from the positions which he has stubbornly held for sixteen years. He gives up the ratio of 16 to 1, denies that he is in favor of silver monometallism, and says that silver must be coined only at a ratio which will keep it in circulation concurrently with gold. This is most gentle roaring, and will frighten nobody. It is safe to say that Bland and all his generation will pass away before any such ratio as he now says he is after will be found. In the meantime, and pending the discovery of that undiscoverable thing, he may declaim and demand as much as he pleases. Where his plank is not meaningless mouthing, it is full of concessions and surrenders on his part, which he had to make in order to get it passed at all, just as he was forced to allow the convention to applaud the acts of President Cleveland, the veto of Bland's pet seigniorage bill not excepted.

In fact, the attitude of the Missouri Democracy on the currency question is not a whit more threatening, and is really less ludicrous, than that of the Indiana Republicans as shown in their recent convention.

The proposition to amend the Constitution so that United States Senators may be elected by popular vote, has been brought forward again in this Congress, but there does not seem much prospect of its passage, to say nothing of the remoter chances of its ratification by the necessary number of States. There is, however, one way already open for bringing the choice much nearer to the people, by having each party in its State convention name the man whom it will elect in case it secures control of the Legislature. The famous precedent of 1858 in Illinois, when Lincoln and Douglas were thus put forward by the Republicans and Democrats, was imitated by the Democrats in the campaign of 1890, when ex-Gov. Palmer was thus made their candidate for Senator, and Democratic members of the Legislature were instructed to vote for him. The Republicans of Wisconsin also pursued the same course when Senator Spooner's term was approaching its close. But the politicians are by no means agreed as to the wisdom of the policy. The Cook County (Chicago) Republican convention, which always exerts a strong influence upon the State convention, met a few days ago and adopted a resolution declaring its conviction that the nomination of a candidate for Senator would be unwise and inexpedient, and instructing the delegates to oppose such action by every honorable means. The same question came before the Idaho Republican State committee a fortnight ago, and it was found that the members were almost evenly divided as to the advisability of thus designating the choice of the party for United States Senator.

The question of trying the Norwegian liquor system in Massachusetts came before the lower branch of the Legislature on Wednesday week, and the result showed that the "campaign of education" which has been prosecuted during the last month has produced a result. Although the liquor committee had, a few weeks before, made an adverse report, the House, by the overwhelming vote of 132 to 39, adopted a substitute bill permitting cities which have voted for license two successive years to adopt the system if a majority favors its trial. The chief opposition came from the extreme Prohibitionists, who hold that "the commonwealth should not engage in a business which has produced so much woe and misery." But more moderate members, who always vote against license in their towns, favored the system, in the

belief that it would eliminate many of the worst features of liquor-selling as now conducted. The most effective argument seems to have been the undisputed fact that the entire liquor interest of the State is opposed to the measure. The bill has still to pass the Senate.

The system consists in taking the sale of liquor from private individuals and intrusting it to corporations organized under State authority. Its distinguishing feature is that the present motive of the individual dealer to sell the largest possible quantity of liquor is removed, since the company can draw only a small income and the surplus profits must go to the community. Everybody knows that the average saloon-keeper is so anxious to make money that he will break the law by selling after hours, to minors and drunkards, and in other ways; and that he is supported in this policy by his backer, who is often a brewer anxious to swell his output. In the Scandinavian countries the corporation has no incentive to sell large quantities, and its employee not only has nothing to gain but everything to lose by pursuing this policy, since he is paid a regular salary and forfeits his place if he breaks the regulations. There seems to be no doubt that the system has worked well in Sweden and Norway. The consumption of spirits per capita has been reduced more than one-half in each of these countries, while during the same period there has been an increase almost everywhere else in the world. It has been found possible there to keep the companies in good hands and to enforce strict rules. The Massachusetts advocates of the system believe that these results can be duplicated in the United States. A number of well-known citizens, including some earnest prohibitionists, announce their readiness to take stock in such companies if authorized in their towns, and to give careful attention to the supervision of the business.

Mayor Gilroy's appointment of Charles H. Murray as police commissioner is a surprise and a puzzle to all shades of politicians who are not in the secret, but there is not a particle of doubt in any politician's mind that there is a "bargain" or "deal" of some kind behind it. Nobody is so innocent nowadays as to accept the mayor's volunteered explanation that he made the appointment because he believes that the "Republican party, as the minority party of the city, is entitled to representation in the selection of election officers." Nobody, too, accepts without a wink the somewhat ostentatious display of "surprise" by Mr. Murray when the news of the appointment was announced to him. There are no surprises of this kind in Tammany government; no valuable office is given to a Re-

publican politician except after a strictly business understanding as to the uses he will make of it. That the new commissioner is one of the type of Republican politicians whom Tammany has always found useful, his record leaves no doubt. He was for years one of "Jake" Patterson's most active Boys, and he is now endorsed handsomely by such high Boy authorities as "Clarry" Meade, the "wicked Gibbs's" man on the police-justice bench, who says of him, with genuine Boy cordiality: "Charley Murray is a good fellow and will make a first-class commissioner." That means that he will be a commissioner of the "Johnny" McClave type, who votes uniformly with the Tammany commissioners, not because he sympathizes with them politically, but because he approves of their conduct.

We commented recently on the plan of the German bimetallist, Dr. Arendt, to fix the price of silver every year by a popular vote of England, France, Germany, and the United States, and now we learn that the levity of our remarks has given pain to the earnest doctor. He was purely unselfish and benevolent in his intentions, and was, in fact, thinking more of the monetary troubles of France and this country than of those of his own, and he thinks it hard that a philanthropist should be mocked by the subjects, or victims, of his philanthropy. But we are not sinners above all that refuse to let the bimetallists make the world happy, for we have noticed that serious people in France have declined to take Dr. Arendt seriously, and even in his own land he is told by a leading German paper that he is bringing forth the east wind.

Another German professor has come to the help of the bimetallists and the agrarians against the mighty, and devised another plan to put an end to their woes. Prof. Sering is the man, and the plan is the simple one of not paying your debts. He does not state it in that bald way, to be sure, as no man would imagine who knows the awful German intellect and its ability to becloud a simple proposition with great swelling words of vanity. The way the thing is come at is by a long process of reasoning to show that the farmers are the most vital element in the concept of the State, and that therefore any exceptional measures taken in their behalf could be defended as in accordance with the "Staatsraison." After that it is easy to show that what the farmers most need is a scaling down of their mortgages, which Prof. Sering thinks the State should at once set about just as it took away from the proprietors of feudal estates from a fifth to a third of their possessions, equally on the principle of the *Staatsraison*. We need not now stop to point out how rapidly that

principle would spread to others than farmers, if once admitted and applied in their case, and how everybody in debt or distress of any kind would speedily be showing that he was an essential part of the State and a most fit subject for the forgiving of debts. Such learned absurdities, however, will do good as showing that bimetallism, under all its disguises, is simply an elaborate scheme to chouse creditors out of their just dues. A brutally frank English commentator on the London Bimetallic League's meeting summed the whole thing up by asking Mr. Balfour and his kind: "What does all your palaver amount to but a confession that you are insolvent and want to make as good terms as possible?"

The English archbishops and bishops have, apparently, from the worldly point of view, done a very foolish thing in coming out with a manifesto against the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, and have even directed the use of a special prayer against the bill. What is most unfortunate about it is that every one of their arguments—so far as we have received them by the cable—were used against the disestablishment of the Irish Church—probably the most monstrous expression of intolerance the world ever saw. Even that very absurd one, that the poor would lose their rights to seats in the churches, was actually offered to the Irish Catholics. The fact is that the Welsh Church is the church of a small, rich minority, and is supported in the main out of the earnings of the majority, and is detested by them. In our day there is no getting over this fact. Any established church of which it can be said is doomed. The disestablishment of the Irish Church settled the matter as far as Great Britain is concerned. What is still worse for the bishops is that the Irish Church, far from disappearing or sinking into impotence, as was predicted by them, not only has, since its disestablishment, grown in numbers and in religious fervor, but has increased its wealth. Mr. George Russell, a devoted churchman, warmly advocated Welsh disestablishment in the House of Commons in the interest of religion, and supported himself by the Irish example. The bishops doubtless feel that in defending the Irish Church they are defending an outpost of the English Church, and fear that their turn will come next. But they could hardly use better means, in these days, of bringing this about than making themselves conspicuous in defence of causes which the non-religious world think hopelessly bad. In this world the manifesto will not make a single convert. The good churchmen the bishops have with them already. It is the dis-senters, and agnostics, and secularists whom they have to fear.

### "SCUTTLE" OUT OF SAMOA.

It is very difficult to say anything intelligent about abandoning Samoa, without knowing more than the world generally knows about our reasons for going there. It would probably never have entered into the head of any one in this country to go near the islands if some German traders had not established themselves there early in the seventies, and begun to meddle in native politics, and appropriate native property, and call in German men-of-war when they got into quarrels with the people they were robbing. Their proceedings were so high-handed that they soon came into collision with the American consul, and his complaints had to be noticed. The natives are split up into factions, and are apparently incapable of carrying on a regular government. If this be so, the proper persons to take possession of it or "protect" it are the Australians. It is in their "system." It is nearer to New Zealand than any other civilized state, and is in the direct line of its communication with the rest of the world. But instead of proposing this we entered into a tripartite treaty in 1889 with Germany and England for the establishment of an independent government under foreign advice and assistance. It has not worked well. The islands are still rent by disputes and faction fights, and life and property are reported to be insecure. One of the worst questions arises out of the land titles. The land of the islands has for many years been going steadily to the Germans and other foreign traders, and the natives feel they have been cheated out of it. In fact, if we substitute traders for missionaries, the case of Samoa is very like that of Hawaii. The traders have got the land and the kings are undoubtedly unchaste.

The instructions which Mr. Blaine gave April 11, 1889, to the American representatives at the conference which led to the tripartite treaty, expressed "an anxious desire to secure the Samoans a healthy, prosperous, and civilized life." "We had no desire to dominate," he said, "and every wish to develop a stable and just government." At the same time he made a vigorous protest against any interference with the harbor of Pago-Pago, which we had secured for naval purposes by treaty with the lawful authorities of Samoa, and intimated that the opening of the Nicaragua Canal would make this increasingly important. It is only necessary to say, apropos of this, that Mr. Gresham reports that American commerce with the islands can hardly be said to exist. About six American ships a year visit the place, and the American trade, which amounted to \$60,000 in 1889, has not increased. There are no ships, and only a schooner-load of coal, in the harbor of Pago-Pago. In fact, what Mr. Blaine called American interests in the place are no more important than American

interests in New Zealand or New Caledonia; and Samoa is between four and five thousand miles from the Nicaragua Canal.

What took us there, except a desire to seem as big and important as Germany, it is difficult to see. The Germans went there when Bismarck was full of his colonization schemes, and when the world seemed too small for the German race. We are sure that the Germans are now pretty tired of the whole business, and would be glad to be out of it. Australia, which is the growing Power in the South Pacific, is pressing Great Britain hard not to renew the treaty, and New Zealand is insisting on her claim to the islands, which lie almost at her door. Senator Morgan says he has no objection to our backing out of the agreement "under conditions," one of which is that we should retain the harbor of Pago-Pago, and that the rights of American citizens should be protected. Of course there can be no objection to our keeping the harbor. In peace it would do nobody any harm. In war, if the enemy had a larger navy than ours, he would take it from us at once. Our ships in time of war, in fact, would hardly venture to go near it. Why we should "keep up our interest in the harbor" because of the Nicaragua Canal, we are unable to see. The canal would benefit all the islands of the Pacific and our Pacific coast, but the special value to the canal of small islands 4,000 miles away we must leave to others to point out. There is no doubt that the Australians will eventually get Samoa and keep it, and we might as well urge now that it be turned over to them. In fact, there could hardly be found a better illustration of the follies of modern diplomacy than the whole Samoan pother.

### "PLAYING THE MISSIONARY FOR ALL HE IS WORTH."

THE Hawaiian annexationists and their apologists have made so many displays of cynicism, in both politics and morals, that one can hardly be surprised at any fresh exhibition of the kind on their part. A recent confession of their fraudulent methods is so brazen, however, that it surpasses anything which has gone before. The *Hawaiian Gazette* of April 24 has an article on what it calls "The Higher Standpoint," in which it quotes at length from a letter of a gentleman resident in the United States, "who has peculiar facilities for discerning public and private sentiment on important questions." This discerning gentleman writes to the annexationists that their cause made slow headway in this country as long as it was suspected that the revolution was the work of American adventurers, but that "we finally became convinced that there was a deep moral purpose in it, and that this was due largely to the

'missionary' element." Then he concludes:

"If I were to give you homely advice as a practical politician, I should say, 'Play the missionary for all he is worth.' He may be no better than he ought to be; but so long as our sympathies are enlisted through his share in your affairs, you should use him. Do not undeceive us until you get what you want."

Now, it is astonishing enough that the *Gazette* should print such a letter at all, but it is still more astonishing that it should accept the advice and propose to act on it. It says to "our good friends of the American League" that they must not be "impatient if there is too much missionary in the Government at present." They must remember that "our cause is placed before the American public" at a time when there is much "suspicion on the subject of annexing mongrel communities." With incredible effrontery it adds, "When annexation is secured, then the missionary can be 'played out' and good men 'played in.'"

It is easy to infer from this that the annexationists are not dwelling together as brethren. In fact, the "American League," to which the *Gazette* refers so deprecatingly, is an organization formed for the purpose of ousting the missionaries and taking away the spoils of office which they are now enjoying. This League, moreover, is saying very ugly things about the "too much missionary in the Government." It says that they have been continuing themselves in power for more than fourteen months without a shadow of popular warrant therefor, and that they have now arranged a mockery of a constitutional convention which they can control absolutely, and the results of which they can submit to the popular vote or not, as they see fit. Still more angrily is it saying that they are voting all the while to increase their own salaries and are putting their friends and relatives in office, in utter disregard of the hundreds of American patriots who stand ready to take the places of these greedy missionaries.

Nor can it be denied that the missionary Government is giving some color to these ill-natured charges. It spent a good part of April in passing "an act making special appropriations for salaries and pay-rolls." To guard against unpleasant contingencies, the act was made valid for two years, so that the salaries and pay-rolls will go snugly along till March, 1896, without any further legislative action—which is what we believe the missionaries call the meeting together of nineteen men to vote money out of the public funds for themselves and their dependents. The occasion seemed a fitting one, too, to increase salaries all around, to the common advantage of all concerned in voting them. Indeed, it would appear at this distance that, if the annexationists were playing the missionary for all he is worth for effect on public sentiment in this coun-

try, the missionary himself is playing his chance at the public treasury for all it is worth.

The inspection of the appropriation act, and especially the reading of the debates of the Executive and Advisory Councils upon it, will make this tolerably clear. While the process of raising salaries was going on, one bothersome member raised the point of the propriety of an officer's voting to increase his own salary. He even had the impertinence to read rule 22, which says that "no member shall be permitted to vote on any question where his private right, distinct from public interest, is immediately concerned." But the attorney-general, whose salary had already been raised by the aid of his own vote, promptly ruled that this was plainly a question of public interest, and that therefore every member had a right to vote himself an increase of \$1,000 a year. The result is, that the men who now have their hands in the treasury of the 90,000 Hawaiians are paying themselves higher salaries than are received by the corresponding officers of a government representing more than 60,000,000 Americans. The Hawaiian chief justice receives \$1,500 a year more than Chief Justice Fuller. Each of the cabinet officers draws \$1,000 a year more than the members of our cabinet. The entire act carries an appropriation of \$1,648,018, or about one-half the total revenue of the country. Who shall say that even Tammany Hall can teach these missionaries anything about the art of government?

These official records of the provisional Government and the frank confessions of the *Gazette* show what a gigantic bunco game the annexationists have been playing. They have filled the air with cries about a "missionary civilization" being endangered, and about the fruits of sixty years of American philanthropy being imperilled, and all the while the "pals" have been consoling each other by saying: "We know it is tough, boys, but the missionary bait is the only one we can use to catch American gudgeons. Just wait till we get annexation, and you'll see how soon 'good men' will seize all the fat offices. Until then, understand, we are all missionaries."

#### THE SOFT-COAL STRIKE.

THE fact that there is a general strike among the miners of soft coal throughout the region east of the Mississippi River is well known. The supply of bituminous coal is, in consequence of this strike, becoming so small as to threaten serious results in the near future. But while the general situation is within the knowledge of all, the actual merits of the case and the motives which have influenced the actions of both operators and miners are not so easily ascertained. In the first place, it is to be

borne in mind that the Allegheny Mountains divide the soft-coal fields into two regions, which have very little business influence upon each other. The output of Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the greater part of the production of Virginia and West Virginia, seeks markets at tide-water or in the East. With the exception of one field, that of northern Pennsylvania, where, it is said, wages have been reduced in order to secure a larger volume of sales, the miners east of the Alleghenies have no grievance, and do not profess to have any. A miner in southern Pennsylvania or Maryland will earn on an average \$700 a year, and could perhaps earn more if he were willing to work steadily throughout the year. This sum, or anything like it, must be considered good wages when we recollect that mining does not call for any especial skill, except to avoid danger. Nevertheless, that danger should be allowed for in estimating proper wages. The miners in the eastern region having no grievance, the strike there is purely sympathetic. By sympathetic is meant that these men were willing to quit work in order to help the cause of their brethren in Ohio.

The Federation of Miners, which has been holding a conference with the employers at Cleveland, was formed as an attempt to consolidate the interests of all the miners in the principal soft-coal fields of the United States. The trouble in the trade which brought on the strike began west of the Alleghenies. In Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and in the region around Pittsburgh, there has long existed a sort of rough adjustment of mining wages by which the peculiar conditions in each State and the quality of the coal were allowed for in the rate paid per ton. This series of wage differentials, as we may call it, has long been a matter requiring delicate treatment. The adjustment was intended to put the operators of the different fields on a par with each other in the common market of Lake Erie cities and Chicago. Since no standard of output and of volume of sales was possible, these differentials, which include also differences in railway freights, have always proved themselves to be matters of discord and difficult of adjustment. The business depression added greatly to the difficulties of the situation. The capacity for production west of Pittsburgh was larger than the demand for soft coal. Prices of coal were reduced in this way from time to time as competition grew fiercer, until as a last resort the employers in some of the fields reduced the miners' wages. The situation in the Pittsburgh field may be taken as an example. There was an agreement of long standing by which the operators in this field were to pay nine cents per ton more for mining than was paid by their brethren across the river in Ohio. The pressure of competition,

and the reduction in wages in the Pittsburgh field, destroyed this differential, thus giving to the Pittsburgh operators an advantage to which the operators of the other States thought they were not entitled. It is said, with how much justice cannot be determined, that the mining companies of Ohio are in secret sympathy with the efforts of the Federation of Miners to restore wages to the old schedule, and thus to put again in force the old differential between the two fields. This will serve as an instance of the complications to which the strike has given rise.

The strike of the miners west of the Alleghenies is thus intended to force the payment of the old rate of wages, which had been reduced because of the fierce competition with which the operating companies fought for the comparatively few orders that were offering. The leaders of the federation recognize that the miners of one State cannot get the old wages if the miners of another State consent to receive less than before, or work to supply the trade demands of the striking section. It was by this argument that these leaders induced the miners of Pennsylvania and Maryland, who had no grievance of their own, to support the Ohio contention by a sympathetic strike, though these two regions interfere but little with each other. Every panic, with its succeeding period of depression, brings about strikes as one of its consequences. Employers of labor strive to effect an adjustment between the lower level of prices and wages. This is usually resisted by the employees, with a consequent disturbance of business until a new adjustment is found. Whether the operators will win the present fight, or the old wages be restored, or whether a compromise is possible, can be decided only by the event. Whatever the immediate outcome, the trade adjustments between the various competing fields, which years of experience have demonstrated to be necessary, must be observed, or future trouble will be inevitable.

#### GROWING RICH IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

WHATEVER be the result of the inquiry which Mr. Goff is carrying on, he is on the right line of investigation. It is the first time in thirty years that any attempt has been made to examine the condition of the police force of this city in the right way. Committees have before now come near doing it, but some mysterious influence always called them off before they reached the true point of attack. The department, from the commissioners down, has for twenty-five years lain under the suspicion of gross corruption. This suspicion has been strengthened by the way the worldly condition of all

the officers has improved during their service, on very moderate salaries. It is a condition of every service in the world, commercial, military, civil, or political, that there shall be nothing mysterious about the manner in which an officer grows rich; that his friends and his superiors shall at least know enough about his affairs to know that honest sources of wealth are, or have been, open to him. Every man who cares for his reputation looks to this for himself. He does not, while holding a position of trust in any one's service, add house to house, and farm to farm, and splendor to splendor without making known to his employer where the money comes from if his salary plainly does not supply it. No bank would allow any officer to indulge in luxuries that his stipend would not warrant without looking into his affairs. The same rule prevails in all armies, and does or ought to prevail in all civil services. No public man ought to get rich in a manner that sets people to wondering over his ways and means. People in fiduciary positions, like judges, have not only to be, but to seem, pure. Public morality cannot be maintained if everybody doubts the integrity of public servants.

It is now fully twenty years since the practice of putting political adventurers, with no pecuniary or social standing, in the Police Commission began. The place is one, owing to its enormous power over the criminal and semi-criminal classes, in which the incumbent needs all the fortification that high character and general public esteem can give him. As a rule, the men who have filled it during the period we have mentioned have had no standing in particular, and have been too obscure to have any public esteem, or to be much ashamed or troubled if suspected of anything discreditable. They have, as a rule, been men to whom money is everything, and reputation a comparatively small matter. Their fortunes, therefore, have always needed close watching, but have never received it. They have come again and again under more or less of a cloud, without bringing on them any inquiry, until Dr. Parkhurst took the matter up and by his charges made inquiry imperative. It ought now to be pushed home. We trust that Mr. Goff and every one concerned will remember that a suspected or accused official has no "private affairs." His affairs become public in every sense of the word as soon as any reputable person says he is a bribe-taker or corruptionist of any description. In such a situation as the police commissioners are now placed in, an honorable man scorns secrecy. He craves an inquiry. He lays everything bare to the world. If death be preferable to dishonor, so, *a fortiori*, is investigation. Alexander Hamilton set a memorable example

by accusing himself of a sort of private immorality which the public in his day were least likely to forgive, lest any stain should rest on his character as a public officer.

How necessary official investigation is for the maintenance of public morality, is well illustrated by the way in which Croker has escaped from public life with a large fortune. It is no longer possible to investigate him. Although Mayor Grant swore in 1888 that in 1886 Croker "was very poor indeed," in 1893 he was in possession of a large racing stud, and a stock farm, and a very expensive house in Fifth Avenue. He was during this period in an official, though not a public, position of great influence and authority, and was known to hundreds as the director and controller of all administration in this city, and of all legislation at Albany, and was known to many tens as the receiver of money in return for protection from legislative attacks, or, in other words, from "blackmail." He was, too, engaged in no money-making business or occupation. Horse-racing and horse-raising do not come under these heads, and during the interval between 1887 and 1893 extraordinary depression prevailed in all kinds of business, including real estate. Nevertheless, in the absence of official inquiry, he was able, in his retirement, to procure an apology or defence from a religious paper, the *Outlook*. What is most curious about it is that a precisely similar apology for Tweed, with an ascription of his wealth and that of his associates to "outside operations," appeared in the *Evangelist* in New York within a very short period of the explosion which finally landed him in jail and broke up the ring. One does not need to ascribe such tributes to anything but the genuine kindness and charitableness of religious editors, combined with the gentle credulity which usually goes with such qualities; but they show the value of official inquiry when the "rise in real estate" is extraordinarily rapid, and does not appear in the sales made at the exchange.

#### FASHIONABLE POLITICAL ECONOMY.

POLITICAL economy is the study of human nature under certain circumscribed conditions. The true economist is a man who watches and reports the play of the human mind on the phenomena of trade, commerce, and industry. He tells us by observation and sometimes by experiment what men will do, if let alone, when brought face to face with certain facts of human society. He is thus able, as all scientific men ought to be, to predict and to verify his predictions. He is able to tell what will happen if something else happens; what will result, for instance,

if this play of the human mind on the phenomena of trade, commerce, and industry is interfered with. His concern, too, is wholly with the human mind of to-day, and not the human mind of 1,000 or 500 years ago; the "historical school" to the contrary notwithstanding. How mines were worked in the middle ages is not his affair; how they are worked to-day is what he has to study. This was the work the old Manchester school did, and the result was that it acquired great influence, and had much effect on legislation and opinion.

But as philanthropy spread, the study of the way the human mind plays on industrial phenomena became unpopular. Men arose who said this was a poor occupation; that it had not banished poverty or debt; that the true work of the economist was the study of the way the human mind *ought* to play on industrial phenomena, and generally to make men happy, by legislation. And they fell to denouncing Smith and Ricardo and the Manchester school. These were the "ethical economists," who now have possession of the field, and are filling the world with plans of human regeneration by a freer outlay of human earnings. In the colleges they abound, but the trouble is that the intelligent world generally ridicules their pretension to be called "scientific." The *London Times* says of these professors:

"Put in plain English, this means that several professors of political economy at the present day hold the pious opinion that an agreement between the leading commercial nations would suffice to fix a ratio between gold and silver. This is not a scientific opinion at all in any proper sense. It is a deduction from facts which are at the disposal of everybody, made by men mostly turned out of one school who have destroyed their own pretensions to authority by turning topsy-turvy the economic 'science' of their immediate predecessors. They have shown us that in this 'science' fashion rules as absolutely as in the science of dressing ladies' hair, and we accordingly set very little store by their opinion, or even by their consensus."

The reason of this contempt is obvious. In leaving the world of fact for the world of opinion, and substituting "ethical concepts" for observation, they put themselves on a level with all the dreamers and speculators of the earth. In the ethical world, one man's ideas are just as good as another's—those of Henry, the dynamiter, who was nothing if not ethical, as those of William Morris, the Christian socialist. All of them are prophets simply, and you can neither refute a prophet nor test him. It may be that, by blowing up all the rich people with bombs, society would be purified, and it may be that, by giving all the capital of the world to the governments, poverty would disappear. Who knows? God is great, and the world is wide.

There has been much speculation as to the causes of this change. Some say it is due to the large number of young professors who have studied

philosophy in the German universities, and thus permeated themselves with a theory of society which made the mere phenomena of trade seem a low, debasing study. Others, like the writer in the London *Times*, say it is due to changes of fashion, such as occur in ladies' hairdressing, and there is something in this, for everybody knows that the philosophy of the day does change as a garment. One day we are all devoted Kantists; the next we are Hegelians, and the next Schopenhauerites and Spencerites. In the field of metaphysics men have from the beginning run to and fro from positivism to transcendentalism, and transcendentalism to positivism, incessantly, and the world has therefore always congratulated itself that it is not ruled by philosophers. Just now, under the excitement of recent economic changes, we are very sentimental, and are weeping over the poor just as the noblemen and gentlemen did before the French Revolution, and it is not wonderful that the economists found economy too dry and cold, and threw themselves into ethics.

In fact, they are using the strictly economic problems now mainly as a means of sharpening their wits. Very few, if any, of the things over which the various "schools" are now disputing have the smallest human interest. The whole value to mankind of the study of political economy lies in its influence on popular opinion. It is not a thing which a scientist can carry into his laboratory and work over in supreme indifference to the rest of the world. Its subject-matter is human affairs, or, as we have said, the play of the human mind on the phenomena of trade and industry. Its object is to get individuals to understand this play and adapt to it their lives and their legislation. If it have not this in view, it is as profitless as the speculations of the schoolmen touching the number of angels that could get into the eye of a needle.

Some attention is called to this point in the notices of the work of some of our American economists in the last number of that wonderfully sane periodical, the *Journal des Économistes*. One author, the editor remarks, disports himself "on the heights of economico-metaphysical speculation." "Reading his work," he says, "is a good intellectual exercise, but has the author contributed to the progress of the science?" Another finds fault with the classical method of estimating the cost of production. The manufacturer says he has spent so much in raw material, so much in wages, so much in wear and tear, therefore his profit must be so much. This is a narrow view. He should have gone back to the cost of the wool in Australia, and followed it through all its changes of place and fashion till it became a frock coat; to which we fear the manufacturer would say,

"Shucks!" Another still tries to get at the law of distribution by analyzing and combining the "pain of production" with the "utility of the product" and the "pleasure of consumption"; on which the French economist sensibly remarks "that real life [which is the life the economist has to study] takes no account of these speculations, that political economy can rest only in experience."

This is a state of things greatly to be regretted. Never in any age of the world has there been greater need that economists should speak with a voice of proved and provable authority. Nineteenths of them are to-day singing "songs of freedom" with socialists and labor agitators, and filling the bellies of the poor with the east wind.

#### IRISH SURNAMES.

IN the newly issued Dublin blue-book, 'Special Report on Surnames in Ireland,' by Robert E. Matheson, which is an appendix to the twenty-ninth annual report on marriages, births, and deaths in Ireland, will be found some very curious and interesting facts in regard to Irish names as now existing in the island. As would be expected, "the great bulk of the most common names are undoubtedly of Celtic origin," but those of English origin are also numerous, and it is a well-recognized fact that the surname is not an infallible clue to the race of the user. Many Irish names have been translated into English. Some Englishmen in past ages took Irish names, and innumerable Irishmen (by which we mean the native Celtic stock) were forced to take English names. The well-known statute of 5 Edw. IV., cap. 3, A. D. 1465, prescribed "that every Irishman that dwells betwixt or among Englishmen in the County of Dublin, Myeth, Vriell and Kildare, shall take to him an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale; or colour, as White, Black, Browne; or arts or science, as Smith or Carpenter; or office, as Cooke, Butler, . . ."

The tables in this Report show the one hundred most prevalent names to be mainly Celtic, with a few remarkable exceptions. The population in 1890 was estimated at 4,717,959 persons, and the estimate of persons bearing any particular name is ascertained by multiplying the births in 1890 of that name by the average birth-rate, which is one for every 44.8-10 persons. The result is that the first three names in order of frequency are Murphy, Kelly, and Sullivan, but the fourth (Walsh) means a Welshman, and the fifth is the ubiquitous Smith. The 26th is Wilson, the 31st Campbell, the 32d Clarke, the 33d Johnston, the 34th Hughes, the 37th Brown, the 42d Thompson, the 50th White. Lower down in the list we find Burns (68), Robinson (73), Cunningham (74), Griffin (75), Ward (78), Reid (81), Graham (82), Higgins (83), King (86), Bell (89), and Scott (90). The last name on this list (Dwyer) represents 8,100 persons, as against 62,600 for the Murphy clan.

One very evident fact is the decadence of the forms in "O" and "Mac," since the relative position is No. 6 for O'Brien, 10 for O'Neill, 13 for McCarthy, 21 for McLaughlin, and 39 for Maguire. Moreover, O'Brien is little over one-half as numerous as Murphy, and O'Neill a little less than one-half. In separate lists we find the names of 135 families with names be-

ginning with "Mac" and about 600 names with "O" prefixed. Of these the most outlandish would appear to be now borne by few persons, since most of them are lacking in the lists of names having five births recorded in 1890, and which are supposed to represent families of 250 persons. Of course some occur in the birth record without the "O" and the "Mac." Only five "Fitz" names are recorded, viz.: Fitzgerald, 330 births, equal to 14,784 population; Fitzpatrick, 249 births, equal to 11,155 population; Fitzsimons, 80 births, equal to 3,584 population; Fitzgibbon, 34 births, equal to 1,523 population; Fitzmaurice, 21 births, equal to 940 population.

As to the predominance of names, it seems that the one-hundred principal names embrace about two million of the inhabitants, and an examination of the birth-lists shows that the population is mainly Celtic. The census of 1891 declares 4,581,431 persons born in Ireland, 74,523 in England and Wales, 27,323 in Scotland, and 21,330 abroad, or a total of 4,704,607. Ireland has been a great hive, for centuries throwing off swarms, but receiving comparatively few accessions of other stock. Macaulay states that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the English colony was confined to the seaboard; but, after the terrible invasions under Cromwell, the result was that under James II. the Celtic race was probably somewhat under a million in number, and among them resided about two hundred thousand colonists of Saxon blood. The examination of names to-day indicates that this proportion has been substantially preserved. Ulster is, of course, the stronghold of the invader, and here such names as Smith, Johnston, Stewart, Wilson, Thompson, Campbell, Moore, Bell, Patterson, Bradley, and Brown are numerous, though even here Reilly and Gallagher lead the list.

In this report the author gives little space to the origin and form of names. In 1890 he prepared an official report entitled 'Varieties and Synonymes of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland,' compiled from the records of births, deaths, and marriages. Nevertheless he collected only the variations of names, and although these are important for local work, they leave us in ignorance of the meaning which underlies the name. Of course every one knows that "Mac" means "son of," and "O" means "descendant," probably "grandson"; "Kil" or "Gil" (*Giolla*), means "servant of," and is usually prefixed to a saint's name, as in Kilbride (servant of St. Bridget), Gilpatrick (servant of St. Patrick), Gilfoyle (servant of St. Paul); though Gilchrist is "servant of Christ," and Gildea is "servant of God." Maol (according to Mr. Matheson) signifies a tonsured person who became the spiritual servant of a saint. Thus Maol-Dubhan, "servant of St. Dubhan," forms Maoldun, anglicised into Muldoon. Other names cited by him are: Carrick, *carrice*, a rock; Clough, *clach*, a stone; Columb, *colum*, a dove; Cunneen, *coinin*, a rabbit; Darragh, *dair*, an oak; Mullaly, *eala*, a swan; Quilty, *coillte*, woods; Sheedy, *sioda*, silk; McGowan, *gobha*, a smith; Breheny, *breathamh*, a judge; Cleary, *cleireach*, a clerk; Ward, *bhard*, a bard; Colgun, *colg*, a sword; McCraith, *craith*, to weave; Davin, *daimh*, a poet; McIntyre, *Mac-an-t-Saoir*, the son of the workman; Roe, *ruadh*, red; Duff, *dubh*, black; Lauder, *laidir*, strong; Daly, *dall*, blind; McGirr, *gor*, short; Casey, *cathaiseach*, valiant; Dempsey, *diomusach*, arrogant; Brody, *brodach*, proud; Corcoran, *corcurach*, purple or red; Kinnavy, *enamh*, a bone; McCosh, *cos*, a foot; McClave, *lamh*, the hand.

These few examples, though interesting specimens of names from rank or occupation, from natural objects, from personal qualities, etc., still leave unexplained the great body of surnames.

It remains to consider some composite names, by which we mean such surnames as do not indicate the probable racial derivation of the individual. It is beyond question that the foreign invaders, from the earliest historic times, have abandoned their names for Celtic forms. Thus for De Burgo, or Burke, was used MacWilliam; for De Angulos, or Nangle, MacCostello; De Exeter, MacJordan; Barrett, MacWatten; Staunton, M'Aveeley; De Birmingham, MacFeorals; Fitzsimon, MacRuddery; Poer, MacShere; Butler, MacPierce; Fitzgerald, MacThomas; De Courcy, MacPatrick; Barry, MacAdam. Again, common English names, derived from colors, objects, animals, and the like, were freely translated into Irish. Thus, Bird became Heany; Black, Duff; Gray, Colreavy; White, Banane or Bawn; Little, Begg; Long, Fodha; Fox, Shanahan; Holly, Quinlan; Oaks, Darragh; Rock, Carrick; Waters, Toorish; Monday, McAloon; Boar, McCullagh; Oats, Quirk; Silk, Sheedy; Weir, Corra; and Smith, Gow and McGowan. Of course, the reverse often happened, and the Celt transformed his name into the corresponding English word. We have already cited the statute of A. D. 1465 which compelled the Irishmen within the Pale to take English surnames. All of these causes produce numerous names which are absolutely no indication of race, and in fact the mania of certain Americans of Irish descent to magnify their race now leads them to claim many purely English surnames as Irish, merely on account of the prevalence of the name in Ireland. It is equally mistaken for them to claim many of the Scotch forms in Mac, though more pardonable, since the languages are allied.

The genealogist will find very little satisfaction in such a record of names as this Report gives. The clan system is fatal to all pedigree-making, either among the countless Murphys or O'Briens of Ireland, or the equally numerous MacDonalds or Stewarts or Campbells of Scotland. The line of the chief of the clan is carefully recorded, and that of such of his prominent relatives as have founded territorial families. But, beyond that, the multiplicity of kinsmen bearing the common name destroys all possibility of identification after a very few generations, even where records remain. In Ireland most of the leading clans are still represented; not always, however, by wealthy descendants. Sir Bernard Burke, in his 'Vicissitude of Families,' nearly thirty years ago pointed out the flourishing representatives of M'Murrough, King of Leicester, of the O'Neills, Princes of Clanboy, of the O'Briens, Kings of Thomond, the O'Connors of Connaught, the MacCarthys, and many of the lesser families. Another authority quotes as still existing certain special titles, viz.: Prince of Coolavin, a MacDermott; Knight of Glin, a Fitzgerald; Baron of Killoe, a Russell, The O'Connor Don, etc. On the other hand, there are a few undisputed instances of the representatives of famous families existing in the grade of the poorest peasantry. A generation or two ago, such claims carried a certain reverence from the people; but so thorough has been the work of disaffection caused by emigration, agrarian troubles, and Fenianism, that even in Ireland the ancient affection and respect for "the old blood" has virtually ceased.

Mr. Matheson's two essays should be re-

printed in America if the supposed regard of the Irish Celt for his race has any existence. It is noticeable, however, that the Celts born in the United States are not students of the Irish language. While immigrants of other nationalities cling to their native tongue, and insist that their children shall learn it concurrently with the indispensable English, the Irishman seems content to forget the speech of his fathers. The most eloquent Land-Leaguer or Fenian, while raving over the wrongs inflicted upon Erin, would be utterly silenced by the shortest sentence propounded to him upon an American platform in Ireland's venerable language. It is not unreasonable to surmise that the instinct of the race leads our American Celts to perceive that they are doomed to absorption here. The signs all point to this desirable conclusion. The children born here speedily develop strong local attachments, and each generation of course inherits and increases the love of country.

#### PROTECTIONISM AND SOCIALISM IN ITALY.

ITALY, May, 1894.

A NEW review, entitled *La Riforma Sociale*, and edited by Francesco S. Nitti and Luigi Roux, promises to become one of the best organs for impartial and radical discussion. But these comparatively young writers put forth their theories as new, whereas, were they well read in the writings of the makers of Italy, they would find that, thirty and forty years ago, Cavour, Mazzini, and Cattaneo all agreed on what were and what were not the functions of the State in social matters. In a short, pithy article entitled "The Agrarian Party and its Social Significance," Signor Nitti, after affirming that protectionism is less an economic theory than the consequence of class selfishness, hits the nail on the head when he adds:

"Those agrarians who demand that the State shall secure for their products a remunerative limit—the French *prix de revient*, a fixed price—by the aid of protective and prohibitive tariffs, outrage the principles on which modern society is founded; they claim privileges and monopolies which are the antithesis of liberty and solidarity. Their demand is explainable only by the doctrines of socialism pure and simple. When the workingmen and peasantry demand that the law insure them work and a minimum wage, they are merely claiming for their class what the agrarian party demand for themselves. They are more consistent, and start from higher principles; they speak in the name of the great majority of mankind, whereas the agrarians act in the interests of a very small fraction of a party. The 260 deputies who champion the interests of the agrarian party in the House and clamor for the remunerative limit, cannot honestly oppose the demand of the workingmen for a minimum wage; and, once this is conceded, what are to be the limits of State interference in the economic sphere?"

True, but this is not the first time that it has been proclaimed in Italy. Cavour, who was a wealthy capitalist and a first-class agriculturist, was an out-and-out free-trader on principle. During the tempestuous period of 1848-9 he studied attentively the social as well as the political conditions of European countries, and in the two volumes of his writings, admirably edited by Prof. Domenico Zanichelli, we find (vol. i., p. 360-89) an exhaustive article on the social reforms attempted by the French Revolutionists. In his view, all "these strange systems proposed involve the renunciation of the principles of individual liberty, invest the government of society with unlimited powers, and reduce individuals to automatons." Pass-

ing to the proposed organization of labor, he writes:

"With the proclamation that the State ought to provide work for every workingman, the election of a commission to study not only the means for ameliorating the economical conditions of the poorer classes, but also the principles which underlie the relations between employer and employed, between capital and labor, by arbitrary regulations as to the time and wages of labor—by these acts, and still more by imprudent speeches and writings, the Government has manifested its intention to reconstruct on new foundations, as yet hidden, all existing relations of capital and labor in the production of wealth. In a word, the Provisional Government seeks a fresh solution of the great, the tremendous problem of the organization of labor."

After showing what a bad organizer any Government is even of a private industrial undertaking with honest officials and chosen workmen, Cavour asks, What would a national manufactory result in where the worst workmen will offer themselves because they swell the ranks of the unemployed? All his arguments tend to prove that State organization of labor must prove an inevitable failure. As the articles appeared in the *Risorgimento* of March, 1848, and as later failures confirmed the truth of his opinions, they have a certain value for impartial critics.

But socialists will say: Cavour was a capitalist, a conservative, a monarchist; naturally he would be opposed to all attempts to equalize the conditions of rich and poor, of labor and capital. To this we answer that Mazzini, who was neither a capitalist nor a conservative, but a humanitarian and republican, in his 'Systems of Democracy in Europe' came to the same conclusions, and admonished his countrymen to beware of the isms of the sectarians, since only by individual liberty, to be gained for Italy by the ousting of despots and their satellites, and then through the principle of association, could they hope to ameliorate their condition. With regard to individual property, Cavour and Mazzini use the same expressions, and maintain that if that stimulus were removed, men would neither work nor save, invent nor study; that progress would be sapped at its foundations. Where they both agree, again, is on the absurdity, the injustice, the evils of protection; and in this both carry their doctrines to the logical results. "If the State," said Cavour, "has neither the right nor the duty nor the power to regulate the relations between labor and capital, between the employer and the employed, neither can it be rightfully empowered to protect one industry or one class of production by artificial means."

In the second volume of his writings we find (pp. 353-363) a long article on English legislation on the corn trade. Assuming the principle of free trade as accepted, he refutes all the specious arguments of the opportunists and the sophists, and, writing in 1843, concludes:

"When an economic system is proved to be contrary to reason, to justice, to equity; when its ablest defenders are compelled to invoke mere motives of convenience and of opportunity, the system is doomed; shaken at its foundations, the slightest jar will make it totter, the first unusual strain will bring it down from turret to foundation-stone. Hence we may predict in a near future the total abolition of the corn laws, and, as a consequence, the overthrow of all the protective barriers which have for so long a period surrounded the industrial and agricultural operations of Great Britain."

Later we have a long article on the "influence of England's commercial policy on the Continent, and especially in Italy" (vol. iii., pp. 469-532), written for the *Antologia Italiana* in 1847, in which he foresaw that Italy

must gravitate infallibly towards free trade. Curiously, at that time, Cavour, his father and brother, were accused of bringing grain up to famine prices and reducing the people of Turin to starvation. Cavour sent the accusations to the director of the *Antologia*, asking whether "he would care for more articles on the freedom of commerce from the pen of a man who was the object of such accusations." What the editor replied we do not know, but no second article appeared; so the methods of applying free trade in Italy had to wait for their official champion until Cavour openly supported his doctrines in Parliament as Deputy and as Minister. As a Deputy he never allowed an opportunity to pass without deriding the manufacturers and agriculturists who required "protectionist pillows" on which to repose; and in every case where he could not get a duty abolished, he did his utmost to get it reduced. As a Minister, he openly proclaimed his free-trade principles, especially during 1851, when he was Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. His absolute and minute knowledge of all agricultural operations gave him a great advantage over his opponents.

"I quite admit, gentlemen," he said, "that to proprietor-farmers a high rate of duties is seductive, but this is not the case with consumers. If you tax the wine in the low countries, we have more ague and fever; if you tax the bread, the people feed on inferior cereals and we have pellagra and other diseases." Again, he laid great stress on the fact that every protected industry had gone down because the manufacturers, sleeping on their protectionist pillows, no longer brought that keen intelligence, that unceasing activity, which they had exercised to obtain supremacy. Thus he showed how the protection of the various silk industries had lowered the perfection of each, giving the victory to Lyons. Perhaps his most impressive speech is that of April 14, 1851, in answer to the protectionists, headed by Count di Revel, backed up, as he proved, by some of the ultra democrats.

"The ministry," he said, "profess frankly and entirely the principle of free trade, believing that a government in normal times ought never to protect by special duties this or that industry: that it is not its duty, hence it has not the right, to favor one industry more than another; that it has no authority whatsoever for imposing a tax on the generality of consumers for the benefit of special industries. The custom-house exists for the purpose of finance—that is, for the public weal. Frontier duties form a necessary branch of income, but it is neither just nor opportune to impose a tax on the generality of citizens in favor of a special class."

The discussion lasted several days. His opponents, touched in their pockets, brought forward every argument—the ruin of industry, the famine of the workingmen, since no capitalist would risk his money in unprotected industry. Cavour demolished all their arguments by proving that high duties were the cause of smuggling, that many trades were utterly ruined by smugglers, that the high duties were a triple tax on the public, "who pay the smuggler, the Government, and the industrial chief of the protected industry." But his final triumph came through the words spoken on the third day of the discussion—words which Italy would have done well to remember throughout all these intervening years:

"Let us leave the political question entirely aside in order to consider the economic aspect of the case. Humanity tends to the amelioration of the lower classes. Two methods are proposed, and all the systems ideated by the wisest and most audacious intellects are reduced to these two. The first is, Have faith in

the principles of liberty, in the principle of free competition, in the free development of the moral and intellectual man, and believe that the extension of these principles will secure greater well-being for all, and especially for the less fortunate classes. This is the doctrine of the political economists; these are the principles professed by the statesmen who are at the head of public affairs in England. Another school professes entirely opposite principles. Its members believe that humanity cannot be helped, that the condition of the working masses cannot be ameliorated, without ever more and more limiting individual actions, without enlarging boundlessly the central action of a moral body, represented by a government which is yet to be created, that shall assume the general concentration of individual forces. This, gentlemen, is the socialistic school. It is useless to deceive ourselves; although this school has arrived at baneful, nay, atrocious deductions, it cannot be denied that its principles contain much that is seductive to generous and elevated minds. Well, the sole means of combating the doctrines of this school, which threatens to invade Europe, is to oppose other principles to theirs. In the economic as in the political and religious field, ideas can be combated only by ideas, principles by principles. Physical repression avails little. For a moment cannons, bayonets may repress theories, may maintain material order, but sooner or later these theories, these ideas, get translated into facts and obtain the victory in the politico-economic order.

"Now, gentlemen, I maintain that the most potent ally of the socialistic school (of course I allude to intellectual alliances) is the protectionist doctrines. They start from absolutely the same principle, and, reduced to their simplest terms, they affirm the right, and hence the duty, of Government to intervene in the distribution and employment of capital, the mission and the power of Government to substitute its own will, supposed to be more enlightened, for the free will of the individual. If this doctrine be admitted as an incontestable truth, I do not see what answer we can make to the working classes who offer the following argument to the Government: You deem it your right and duty to intervene in the distribution of capital, in the regulation of capital. Why, then, do you not intervene for the regulation of the other element of production, viz., wages? Why do you not organize labor? And verily I believe that if you admit the system of protection, you must as a logical consequence admit, if not all, at least a large number of socialistic doctrines. Hence I beg the opponents of the treaties [of navigation and commerce with England and Belgium] who sit on the right, and who are proud, as I am, of the name conservative, to ponder well these considerations, and, once arrived at the conclusion that protectionism is the corner-stone on which socialism builds up its batteries for the destruction of the old social edifice, I trust that they will refuse their vote of support, their authority."

Did space admit, I could quote even more eloquent passages from Cattaneo, who was in correspondence with Cobden from the commencement of his campaign in favor of free trade. Mazzini was none the less opposed to the protectionists and the socialists as they now present their doctrines. But, instead of exalting the principle of free competition carried to its utmost limits, his one ardent desire was to see the Italian workmen become capitalists through coöperation.

But Cavour, Cattaneo, Mazzini are looked on as retrogrades by the modern school, and, as for protection, the demands of the agriculturists are as impudent as they are infamous. With the populations starving and taxed (as far as the very poorest are concerned) beyond all possibility of payment, with poor Sicily still under martial law because the peasants have demanded and do demand that the Government shall revise the outrageous contracts forced on them by the proprietors, here are the farmers and owners of land demanding an additional tax on corn, which already pays five lire per quintal. They pretend that, as the French protected corn until it reached the price of

twenty-five lire per quintal, the Italian Government ought to protect them in the same way. Note that they farm so wretchedly that a hectare yields on an average only ten quintals, whereas, I can quote foreign proprietors who make it yield twenty and even thirty quintals. Not content with this demand, in which they are supported by 260 Deputies, to those who say, "But don't you see that you will be none the better off, because the poor people will go back to the inferior cereals?" they make answer, "Oh no! we shall take care of that, because we propose to tax all these—to raise the price of oats to seventy lire per ton, that of maize and beans to twenty-two lire fifty centimes." Yet it is a well known fact that, by so doing, many will be reduced to live on offal. In many provinces the populations never touch wheaten bread save in the hospitals, and there is a proverb in the Basilicata to indicate that so and so is cared for with the utmost tenderness. "Why, he is fed on wheaten bread." The landed proprietors know that this, even without meat, is the cure for pellagra, and yet they insist on their barbarous demands.

Would that I could say with hopefulness that the Government will refuse to accede to the demand. Already the tax on salt is applied, all reduction in the military and naval budgets refused, and "order reigns" in the land. But what will happen when the state of siege is over, it is difficult to foresee. Assuredly, if the starving peasants should present themselves to the Government after the passage of the new corn laws and put the dilemma as put by Cavour, "Now that you have benefited the proprietors and farmers by putting into their pockets money taken by force from the pockets of the very poorest and most numerous class, will you kindly lessen our working hours and compel our employers to fix a minimum wage?" the members of the said Government would find themselves in a cleft stick. The case is so apparent that really I cannot see that much fault can be found with your Coxeyite army, save that they have mistaken the time of day. They should have manifested their desire to the Harrison Administration at the moment of the passage of the McKinley act. J. W. M.

#### LONDON'S SUMMER EXHIBITIONS.

LONDON, May 4, 1894.

At the beginning of its career, the New Gallery, inheriting the old Grosvenor traditions, represented a definite school, or movement, in England. Though its managers found place for other painters, it was essentially the headquarters of the Primitives, or followers of the Pre-Raphaelites. But gradually, probably for want of sufficient support from the Primitives themselves, it fell away from its first principles, until this year, in its spring exhibition, it has degenerated into a mere annex of the Royal Academy. It contains little that might not as appropriately be found in Burlington House, and, of this little, nothing is of special note if we except the "Love among the Ruins," by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, a replica in oils of the well-known large water-color which, by such a curious and unaccountable blunder, was virtually destroyed a few months ago. The story must still be remembered by the artist's admirers. As far as one can tell without immediate comparison, the new painting retains the characteristics of the original—the fine blue, recalling Rossetti, in the gown of the female figure; the good decorative intention in the arrangement of the ruins, entangled with

wild roses and brambles; the wan weariness in the lovers' faces; and something of the old weakness and affectation in the technique. It is, in a word, a painting full of some of the finest and some of the worst qualities of the painter, but, with all its drawbacks, immensely more successful than the two new canvases, without a history, which he also exhibits: one, a portrait in which he seems to vie with Henner in the attempted harmony of blacks and whites, but makes the mistake of giving to the living model the corpse-like pallor which the Frenchman has retained for his dead Christ; the other, "Vespertina Quies," a single figure in the manner of earlier Sibyls and Symbols. But for these exceptions, the collection certainly does not call for separate or more detailed criticism.

The chief impression given by the New Gallery, the first to open its doors, was one of mediocrity in the year's work. This has now been confirmed by the display of commonplace at the Royal Academy. But here there are premonitions, as it were, of a coming change or awakening, slight enough, and yet not to be overlooked. As one critic said to me, it is as if the Academy were turning in its sleep. Work that once would have been rejected immediately because of its disregard of academic conventions, has crept in; the canvases of younger men, once disdained or skied, now adorn the line. If the show is not so "modern," or daring, or experimental as to challenge comparison with the Champ-de-Mars (or, I might say, the Champs-Élysées), at least there is a far-away reminiscence of problems that are or have been the concern of exhibitors at the Palais des Beaux-Arts. Impressionism has made some headway; even *pointillisme* is beginning to assert itself. But perhaps the greatest surprise the Academy has to offer is the prominence accorded to Mr. Sargent's decorations for the Boston Public Library, hanging them not merely well, but in much the same position they will occupy eventually in the building for which they are designed.

In every way, Mr. Sargent's is the most important work of the year; important not only as an interesting new departure of an artist who has so distinguished himself in another branch of art, but because of its own vigor and impressiveness. The compositions shown are for a lunette and a section of barrel-vault ceiling (in the entrance hall of the special-library floor), which is to be entirely decorated by Mr. Sargent. The religions of the world give the subject, or motive, he has chosen for the whole design, or series of designs. The one portion now completed represents the oppressed children of Israel in the hand of the heathen—Psalms cvi, 21 *et seq.*, being the text he prints as explanation in the catalogue. The Israelites, naked and martyred, are crouched in the centre of the lunette; on one side is an Assyrian, the figure borrowed from ancient sculptures, and the conventional Assyrian lion; on the other, an Egyptian and the Egyptian ibis; above, emerging from what is apparently an arrangement of wings, is the arm of the Almighty, who regarded the affliction of his people "when he heard their cry." On the ceiling are the idols after whom they strayed; to the right, Astarte, veiled and terrible in her beauty; to the left, a horrible colossal monster, meant, I imagine, for Moloch; between are the signs of the zodiac and strange allegorical figures. It is sufficient to look at the composition to realize the amount of research and study necessary to enable the artist to undertake it. It suggests a patience and a deliberation with which, judging from his

usual brilliant and rapid methods, one would scarce have credited Mr. Sargent.

And not only this: he has also adapted his technique to his motive. His treatment is as archaic as his subject; only in the children of Israel is there something of realistic rendering—a realism which, truth to tell, seems to strike a discordant note in the prevailing conventionalism. A barbaric splendor is produced by the gold of the armor and weapons and ornaments, all modelled in high relief and set on the canvas as nimbus and decorations are in old Italian altar-pieces; by the stones and jewels glistening in the robes of Astarte; by the brilliancy of the red wings. No doubt this was the effect Mr. Sargent sought. Otherwise, it would not be easy to account for what seems a want of harmony in the color scheme. The wings are so many unattached spots of red. The filmy blue gauze—a marvel of cleverness in the painting—that envelops Astarte is in almost too violent contrast with the more sombre adornments of Moloch. But, as I say, this probably is intentional; color harmonies not being characteristic of archaic art. Besides, until one sees all the designs together in their proper place—there is a frieze of prophets, I believe, to go under the lunette—it is too soon to speak of the decorative success of the general scheme. The comparatively small fraction exhibited amazes by the knowledge revealed, by the vigor of drawing, and the virility and strength and fearlessness of the composition.

To turn from work done for a definite purpose to the ordinary exhibition *machine* is to make the latter seem more casual and unobserved and "faked" than ever. Indeed, it is the inability of ninety-nine painters out of a hundred to see things for themselves, or to see them intelligently and artistically, that is so deplorable and tedious. Art is not the mere haphazard arrangement which most of the pictures at the Academy are. It is because of its decorative quality, because a beautiful composition has been seen and felt before being intrusted to canvas, that Mr. Edwin A. Abbey's "Fiammetta's Song" stands out in marked relief. On a more ambitious scale than any of the few paintings by him which I can remember, I am not sure that to the size of the canvas he has not, in a measure, sacrificed his effect, and that its charm would not have been strengthened by judicious reduction. But, as it is, there is a stateliness, a dignity in the design that delights. The theme is simple: women in graceful old Florentine costume are grouped about a semicircular terrace, which is backed by tall cypresses and overlooks a broad, beautiful Italian landscape. The decorative intention is as fine and almost as well realized as in Mr. Abbey's late illustrations to the comedies of Shakspeare, and shows him to be only less successful as a painter than as an illustrator.

The same quality, with a still more painter-like feeling, is found in Mr. William Stott's "Awakening of the Spirit of the Rose," which is not unlike the Nymph he painted many years since—quite his best-known picture—though a gain in correctness of drawing is more than outbalanced by a loss in poetry of treatment. Another canvas by this artist, "The Faerie Wood," also asserts itself, in the midst of many mediocrities, by its decorative convention and restraint. And it is because Mr. Tuke's "August Blue" is something more than a study of naked boys bathing—though the subject is by no means easy or simple—that it compels attention, where the more ambitious "Sir Percival" from Mr. Hacker's studio and the flaunting nakedness of Prof.

Herkomer's model invite the courtesy of neglect.

And so it is with the portraits and landscapes. The bald and brutal presentments of uninteresting, or interesting, people by Academicians, who monopolize too much of the line, are passed over for a quiet, sombre, well-thought-out, and well-balanced portrait of Prof. Blackie, by Sir George Reid, the president of the Scottish Academy, for the work of so young a man as Mr. Charles W. Furze, who, in painting Lord Roberts of Candahar, has borrowed a hint from Velasquez or Sir Joshua, and set his hero against a fine conventionalized landscape; and who, again, in painting a scholar, has, while suggesting character, also made a fine harmony of the gray of the coat and of the books in the bookcase, of the green of the necktie and of the pattern of the chair. Even Mr. Orchardson and Mr. Watts, though the latter has at the New Gallery a portrait of Mr. George Meredith notable for its subject, are less to the fore. The serious work of men like Mr. H. W. B. Davis and Mr. Alfred East and Mr. David Murray; the earnest endeavor to solve a difficult problem—a brilliant sunset after the rain—of a man like Mr. Alfred Parsons, are far eclipsed by a quiet, unpretending landscape, "Returning from Pasture," by Mr. T. Austen Brown, a painter not very widely known. The reason of his success is that he has attempted not only to grapple with a technical difficulty, not only to record a bare transcript of nature, but to make a picture of the simple material chosen—a few cows, a girl driving them, a row of trees, a bit of blue sky, and a glimpse of a near village. Here is new proof, were it wanted, that subject in art is nothing; treatment, everything. It probably will be noted that among the few exhibitors worth special mention members of the Academy do not figure largely. But of them the only other conspicuous fact to be recorded is that Sir John E. Millais is absent altogether. The president's rigid, classic conventions are more formal and academic even than usual. Mr. Alma-Tadema has but an indifferent portrait and a small arrangement of marble. Mr. Fildes has deserted sentiment for royalty, and painted a characterless portrait of the Princess of Wales. And thus I might go through the list of painters.

With the sculptors, however, it is another matter. Here, Mr. Frampton, with his bas-reliefs, and Mr. Onslow Ford, with his portrait busts, give distinction to the galleries. And, above all, there is Mr. Alfred Gilbert, who is represented by a sketch model of the tomb of the late Duke of Clarence. It is an exquisite piece of work. An alabaster sarcophagus is enclosed by an elaborate metal railing, decorated with angels and arabesques; above, a kneeling angel with silver wings holds a golden crown over the extended figure of the dead prince. The model is as lovely and refined and rich as many an old reliquary or casket. But a doubt rises in the mind as to whether the design will be as effective on the large scale ultimately intended. As time goes on, one becomes more and more convinced that Mr. Gilbert is less the sculptor than the goldsmith—the modern Cellini. However, without seeing the tomb itself, it would be impossible to pronounce upon its merits. N. N.

#### MARSHAL OUDINOT.—II.

PARIS, May 8, 1894.

MME. OUDINOT was called all her life "the lady who made the campaign of Russia." We left her retreating with her severely wounded

husband, attended by a small escort of cuirassiers, which diminished at each station. On the ascent of the hill of Wilna, she says:

"I saw motionless soldiers all along the road; it had been impossible for them to go further; overtaken by the cold, they had fallen, and, when they had fallen, they could not rise again. Pools of blood were seen on the snow. Nothing has ever effaced from my memory the terrible impression which I received from this ascent through a field of dead. Our horses, rough shod for the ice, mounted vigorously this steep hill, and we soon left the painful spectacle behind us. The marshal maintained a profound silence; he felt instinctively all that I suffered from what was under my eyes, but he himself suffered too much to ask questions. We were now going like the wind over the plateau which we had crossed with so much difficulty a few weeks before; but the snow had made the roads very even."

After a most difficult journey, the marshal entered Berlin on January 1. The King, who was at Potsdam, made kind inquiries after the marshal's health, through Prince Radziwill, his brother-in-law. Victor Oudinot joined his father in Berlin. He had been travelling from Wilna with a friend, and reported that they had saved each other's noses by throwing snow in the face, after the Russian fashion, when their noses were beginning to grow unnaturally pale and to freeze. The marshal stayed a little time in Leipzig and in Mayence, and finally returned to Bar, where he slowly recovered. He left for Paris in March, in order to offer his services to the Emperor for a new campaign, which was imminent. The young and heroic duchess was presented to the Emperor, to Marie Louise, to the mother of Napoleon, to the Empress Josephine, and to Queen Hortense. The presentation to Napoleon was characteristic.

"I followed the Duchess of Bassano, who soon found herself alone with Napoleon and me. He took a step toward us, and, making a gesture of the head rather than a bow, he said: 'Good-morning, Madame the Duchess of Bassano.' Then, turning towards me, with the same toss of the head, without changing his expression or the inflection of his voice, he said: 'Good-morning, Madame the Duchess of Reggio.' I bowed, for I had now recovered my spirits. After a moment's silence the Emperor asked for news of the marshal, and then said: 'You are a long-married woman, madame.' A fine smile followed these words and lighted his face. I answered that I had, in fact, already been married sixteen months, but that circumstances had prevented my presentation. 'I know,' said the Emperor seriously, with a shade of interest, 'you made a long journey, and,' he added with well-marked interest, 'you were very cold.' I bowed; he stopped; then asked, 'You are from Champaign?' After my answer, he asked again for news of my husband, and, turning towards my companion, spoke, I think, of her children; then bowed us out together."

This was the only interview Mme. de Reggio ever had with the Emperor. It was thought that she had been received with favor. She says that she saw for ever that "dark blue eye which it was as impossible to fix as it is to fix the sun." The marshal received the command of the Twelfth Corps of the Grand Armée, and the young duchess returned to Bar. Oudinot played his part at Lützen, at Bautzen, at Gross-Beeren; he covered the rear-guard during the retreat, and, stricken with typhus, had to return to his country-place of Jean-d'heurs. Soon afterwards France was invaded and the marshal retired to Paris with his wife; he received the command of a portion of the Guard, and left with it for Vitry. There his father and many of his relations and friends lived still. Oudinot was wounded again during the campaign of France, but only slightly, and had not to leave his command. The end of the Empire was approaching. The Duchess

of Reggio gives a graphic account of the departure of Marie Louise for the Loire. She was at Versailles, and, on the eve of the occupation of Paris by the Allies, she heard a great noise—

"an incessant and confused noise, which lasted all night, and announced the passage of a great number of men, horses, and carriages. The light of day shone upon the most astonishing spectacle which could well be seen. It kept us motionless at our windows. What was passing before us, my children. . . . It was the Empire, the Empire, which fled with all its pomp and splendor; the ministers, in their carriages drawn by six horses, taking with them, with their portfolios, wives, children, jewels, liveries, the whole Council of State, with its archives, the crown jewels, the administrations. And these remains of power and of magnificence were mixed up on the road with poor families who had put on a cart all that they could take from their houses, for fear of plunder! At daybreak the roar of cannon had been heard."

King Joseph, who had been left in Paris for its eventual defence, signed a proclamation ending with these words, "Parisians, I remain with you," and left almost immediately afterwards. At Rambouillet, Mme. Oudinot saw Queen Hortense, who was in flight and had just heard that the Neuilly bridge had been blown up. She was thus separated from her mother, the Empress Josephine, who remained alone at Malmaison. Marshal Oudinot did not wait long to recognize the Bourbons; he felt free after the abdication at Fontainebleau, and he was sent by the Provisional Government to meet the Comte d'Artois. "The marshal," says the duchess, "returned captivated by the charm of a prince whom he served sincerely, not only in action, but by his experience in French affairs." The Comte d'Artois at once appointed him minister of state and gave him a place in the cabinet. The Duchess of Reggio, who belonged to a Legitimist family, has nothing to say about this sudden conversion of her husband, and finds it very natural. In revolutionary times, the most extraordinary things seem almost natural. In a visit which Mme. de Reggio, who had returned to Paris, thought necessary to make to the Empress Josephine, at Malmaison, whom did she meet but Mme. de Staël!

"The personal enemy of the Emperor probably thought it in good taste to put in an appearance at Malmaison. . . . When the Empress and Mme. de Staël appeared, we found that the former seemed very agitated. Mme. de Staël crossed the drawing-room rapidly, bowed, and left. I must tell you that, besides Mme. de Staël-Aulaire and myself, a third person had been introduced, who was no less than Mme. Walewska, the Polish lady to whom the Emperor was so tenderly attached during the campaign of 1806. These two women, one who had hated Napoleon, the other who perhaps had loved him too much, drawn by the same impulse towards the repudiated wife—was it not a curious contrast and meeting? But the strangeness and the force of events explained everything. Josephine, however, did not leave us time to meditate; after having answered the farewell bow of Mme. de Staël, she came towards the mantelpiece, where we were all three waiting in silence, and, without any preamble, said: 'I am come from a very painful meeting. Would you believe that, among other questions which Mme. de Staël thought fit to put to me, she asked if I still loved the Emperor? She wished to analyze my state of mind in the presence of this great misfortune. I, who never ceased to love the Emperor while he was happy, would I change now?'"

The Empress Josephine was already ill. She died a week afterwards.

The Emperor Alexander paid a visit to Mme. de Reggio. The marshal had assembled all his staff and his relations for this visit.

"General Pajol had his arm in a sling; Vic-

tor Oudinot walked with crutches; M. de Naintrailles was bent double from the effect of a lance wound; M. Jacqueminot was limping, as well as General Pacthod. This was a striking group and produced its effect. With an exquisite good grace, which never left him, the Emperor offered me his hand to lead me from the head of the stairs to the drawing-room, and all the gentlemen followed us. They formed a circle and the marshal introduced them in succession. To each were addressed some questions. 'Gentlemen,' said the Emperor at the end, 'this war has indeed maltreated you; but if on our side we acquired some ability, to whom did we owe it? Yes, the terrible lessons which you gave us at last taught us something.'"

The Duchess of Reggio was very happy in seeing France at peace and the Bourbons on the throne, but her contentment did not last long. When Napoleon left Elba and came back to France, the marshal was at Metz; Marshal Soult, then minister of war, had given him a command in the east, which placed under his orders the garrisons of Metz and Nancy. The marshal gave a great ball and the duchess was dressing when her husband entered her room, and announced to her that a courier had just arrived from the minister of war: Napoleon was marching on Paris. "You will dance, my dear," said the marshal, "you will seem very quiet, you will know nothing and allow nobody about you to know anything." During the dance, which was very animated, the marshal held a council with the generals and colonels of the garrison. He resolved to march on Toul and Langres, in order to oppose the progress of the Emperor. Before starting, he received a message from Marshal Ney, who asked him to cooperate with him against Napoleon. The day after he wrote this letter, Ney changed his mind, and united his troops with those of the Emperor. Already emissaries of Napoleon had been sent to all the garrisons of the east. At Toul, Oudinot resolved to hold a review, to speak to the soldiers, and to end his speech with "Vive le Roi!" The night before, he summoned to his hôtel all the regimental officers from sub-lieutenant to colonel.

"They formed a circle, with the marshal in the middle. He allowed them to seat themselves in silence, and then said to them: 'Gentlemen, in the present circumstances, I make an appeal to your loyalty; we wear the white cockade; to-morrow I shall pass you in review before my departure. How will you and your soldiers answer my cry, 'Vive le Roi!'"

"A dead silence followed these words. Nothing more dramatic ever happened in my presence. Concealed behind a curtain, I was a forced witness of this scene. Two chandeliers gave light enough to prevent anything being lost; but their pale reflections on the sombre and warlike faces produced an indescribable effect. This silence, expressive as it was, could not be accepted by the marshal as an answer. I saw the storm gathering; each minute seemed a century. . . . At last, these words were uttered by the marshal: 'Well, gentlemen?' Then a young officer of inferior rank came forward and said: 'Yes, Monsieur le Maréchal, we must answer you, and nobody here will deny what I am going to say. To your cry of 'Vive le Roi!' the troops and we ourselves shall answer, 'Vive l'Empereur!'" 'I thank you sir,' said the marshal. He bowed, and they all left the room without saying another word."

The marshal returned to Metz and proclaimed a state of siege. When he heard of the arrival of Napoleon in Paris and the flight of Louis XVIII., he sent in his resignation to the minister of war, Marshal Davout, his old friend. Napoleon felt displeased with Oudinot, and ordered him to retire to his country-place in Lorraine. A few days afterwards he called him to Paris and was very friendly to him, but Oudinot received no command.

Here ends what I may call the heroic part of the memoirs of the Duchess of Reggio. It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between the first and the second part of the volume. The duchess herself seems changed; she is no longer the young woman who shares the retreat from Russia, who admires the hero in her husband. After the second restoration, Oudinot is in high favor, and she becomes herself a lady-in-waiting to the Duchesse de Berry. What she writes about this new period is too much in the style of the court circular. After the Revolution of 1830, she remained in voluntary retirement for many years. Oudinot was less obstinate, and accepted the new régime; he became the Governor of the Invalides, and in that capacity received the remains of his Emperor, brought from Saint-Helena by the Prince de Joinville.

The Duke of Reggio died on September 13, 1847, at the age of eighty-one, at the Invalides, and the Duchess at Bar-le-Duc in the month of May, 1868.

## Correspondence.

### THE DRED SCOTT CASE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I ask the privilege of making two comments upon your review of Mr. Brinton Cox's invaluable book? First, in your remarks on Judge Bancroft Davis's omission of the Dred Scott case from his "Table of cases in which statutes have been held to be repugnant to the Constitution," you say: "Why it was omitted seems inexplicable. The omission remained unobserved by all eyes until those of Mr. Cox discerned it." I think there must have been many who observed it, but who concluded, as I did, that Judge Davis omitted it deliberately, on the ground that, after the Court had declared that it had no jurisdiction over the case of Dred Scott, whatever it said further was *obiter dictum*. At least this seems a plausible explanation.

Secondly, it seems due to President Scott to draw renewed attention to his discovery of the New Jersey case of Holmes and Ketcham vs. Walton. This case, decided in 1779, is anterior to Trevett vs. Weeden and the other cases of the Revolutionary period mentioned by Mr. Cox. It was made known in 1886 (Papers of the American Historical Association, II, 45), but seems to have escaped Mr. Cox's extremely careful search.—I am, sir,

Respectfully yours,

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, May 15, 1894.

[The late Mr. Justice Miller continued the work of condensing the reports of the Supreme Court which Mr. Justice Curtis had brought down to 17 Howard. In the second volume of his "Decisions of the Supreme Court" is the case of Dred Scott, and the following is his concluding syllabus of the decision:

"(9.) Therefore, the act of Congress of 1821, prohibiting slavery in the territory ceded by France, north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, is unconstitutional and void."

With Chief Justice Taney declaring, in what purports to be the opinion of the Court, "Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the Court that the act of Congress which prohibited the citizen

from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void," and with so eminent a jurist and constitutional scholar as Judge Miller giving as his analysis of the decision the conclusion that it adjudged the statute to be "unconstitutional and void," we must reiterate that the deliberate omission of the case from the table of cases seems inexplicable.

The only rational explanation is that the omission was one of those extraordinary oversights which sometimes befall the most careful and industrious of men; and such a man Mr. Bancroft Davis unquestionably is. If it were a less famous case, one might say that Mr. Davis had been misled by the reporters. The head-notes of Howard cover three pages and refer to the statute but once, and then in a vague way, speaking of "an exercise of authority over private property which is not warranted by the Constitution." The first volume of Miller purports to include 19 Howard, but omits the case of Dred Scott; the second volume purports to give only 20 and 21 Howard, but contains the case of Dred Scott, which is in 19 Howard. Mr. Davis, however, is himself too good a constitutional scholar to be misled by such inaccuracies.

As to Holmes vs. Walton, it was not Mr. Cox who overlooked the case, but our correspondent who has overlooked what Mr. Cox says about it. He devotes half a page to it (p. 222), and concedes that the date of the decision was with him largely a matter of conjecture, though he inclined to the conclusion that it was in the latter part of 1786 or the earlier part of 1787. Whether it was before or after Trevett vs. Weeden was not the subject of his investigation. All that he cared to determine was that the case was one of those "alluded to by Gerry on June 6, 1787." It is proper, however, to add that Mr. Cox, apparently, was ignorant of President Scott's researches, and that he, apparently, relied on Mr. Meigs's list of cases published in 1885.—ED. NATION.]

### CONGRESS AND SPELLING-REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Congress of the United States is quite generally recognized as a perpetual source of danger in many other directions, but one might have supposed that the English language, at least, was safe from any worse fate at its hands than to be used for the concealment of thought (or its absence) and for the killing of time. It is certainly to be hoped that the common sense of the country will warn it away from any attempt at the reformation of English spelling.

You have pointed out some of the absurdities of such a course, but the subject was not exhausted. If it be the duty of Congress to economize by amputating a silent *e*, how could it logically stop short of lopping off the useless monosyllable at the end of the famous Congress-

sional "Where are we at?" and this would at once drag the whole subject into the realm of party politics. Some future Senator might introduce into his time-killing speech on some amendment to a proposed duty on dandelion roots the whole of Logan's four-days' speech on the Fitz-John Porter case. This would naturally lead some language-reform Democrat to move for a revision of Logan's syntax, in order to keep down the appropriation for public printing, and the result would be worse than the fight over the expunging of anti-Jackson resolutions.

But, seriously, cannot the spelling-reform enthusiasts see the practical difficulties in the way of a wholesale conventional change in English spelling, whether such a change be in itself desirable or not? Do they not know that the vast majority, for a whole generation at least, would go right on in the old fashion, entirely regardless of the precepts and practices of the reformers, or even of the Government Printing-Office? Do they not realize that the poor children whose difficulties with the present system have reached such an acute stage (in the minds of the reformers) would be plunged into confusion worse confounded by the continual appearance of different spellings for hundreds of words in common use? Could anything result from such a condition except a period of anarchy, with no recognized standard, every man spelling as might seem "right in his own eyes"? Has the fact been considered that by the time when the new method should (if ever) drive its opponents from the field, it would be strictly phonetic no longer? Or is it supposed that such a phonetic strait-jacket can be devised as to paralyze the vital organs of phonetic evolution by its grasp, and entail upon our descendants for all time the privilege of using the petrified linguistic corpse of the nineteenth century?

If those who are making war on silent letters through the Chandler resolution will but devote their energies to replacing the present Senate by a body of men who can comprehend the significance of the letters which are not silent in such words as *duty* and *patriotism*, the children of the land will get along well enough with their old spelling-books.

W. H. JOHNSON.

### AN APPARENTLY UNNOTICED SENSE OF HARD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Now that the study of the English literature of earlier days is so industriously prosecuted, the discussion, in a miscellaneous journal like the *Nation*, of an obsolete word, or use of a word, can hardly be considered as misplaced. Without further preamble, then, commentation being postponed for a few minutes, I produce some quotations illustrative of a signification of the adjective *hard* which has long passed away:

"And yit wee weren cast down and beten down, many tymes, to the *hard* erthe be wyndes, and thondres, and tempestes." Sir John Maundeville, *Voyage and Travaile* (about 1400), p. 284 (ed. 1839).

"Eyther smote other, soo that hors & man wente to the erthe; and so they lay long astonyed, & their hors knees brast to the *hard* bone." Sir Thomas Malory, *Kyng Arthur* (1470-85), vol. i., p. 20 (ed. 1817).

"And the Bishop of Norwich and his counsell let brenne thes shippis, with all the pelage, in the same haven, all in to *hard* ashes." Anon., *Cronicles of Englade*, etc. (1483), sig. D 6r.

"They persed the flemynges cotes of mayle into ye *harde* bones." Lord Berners, *Trans. of*

Froissart (1523), vol. i., p. 738 (ed. 1812), vol. i., p. 738.

"In good fayth, syr, quod he, I am, in thys mater, euen at the harde wall, and se not how to go further." Sir Thomas More, *A Dialoge* (1529), fol. lv., v.

"To fret out the rotten flesh, even to the hard quick, that it smart again." William Tyndale (about 1530), *Expositions and Notes* (1849), p. 68.

"His weapon entred through bothe wode and stone, and into the erth, to the hard head." Lord Berners, Trans. of *Arthur of Lytle Brytayne* (about 1530), p. 142 (ed. 1814).

"But than Arthur put his sword Clarence into his body up to the harde crosse." *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 173.

"He was cloven to the hard tethe, and so he fell downe dead." *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 322.

"Cicero mocked hir to the harde teeth." Rev. N. Udall, Trans. of *Apophthegmes of Erasmus* (1542), fol. 319r.

"All the horsess [were] trapped in sondrie couloured ueluettes to the heard pauement." Richard Grafton, *Chronicle* (1543), fol. 146.

"Vp to the pappe his string did he pull, his shaft to the harde yron." Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545), p. 134 (ed. 1868).

"Vp is he to the harde eares in loue." Rev. N. Udall, *Roister Doister* (before 1553), Act I., Scene I.

"The sorie foxe, being al alone, was eaten vp almoste to the harde bone." Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorike* (1553), fol. 101 v. (ed. 1567).

"And therewithall he thruste the rapier into him, to the hard hilttes." William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure* (1566-67), vol. i., p. 291 (ed. 1813).

"He commanded to strike of all the Rhodians heads, and to raise the city to the hard foundations." "The temples wil fall down to the hard foundations." Sir Thomas North, Trans. of *Guevara's Diall of Princes* (1568), fol. 359, 412. These passages are not in the edition of 1557, the first.

"Our auncestours . . . pursued vertue at the harde heeles, and shunned vyce as a rocke, for feare of shipwacke." Rev. Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579), p. 26 (ed. 1868).

"I . . . wore my wits to the hard stumps." "A Tree . . . though it be often felled to the hard roote," etc. "When my Lady came, and saw me . . . wasted to the harde bones," etc. John Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (1580), in *Euphues*, etc. (ed. 1868), pp. 272, 291, 297.

"The earth was cast round about him up to the hard chin." Anon. (1587), in *Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles* (ed. 1807-8), vol. vi., p. 331.

"But I leave it [pease-pottage] to rusticks, who have stomacks like Ostriges, that can digest hard yron." Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (1589), p. 33 (ed. 1636).

"Following the Argonautes at the heard heeles." G. Woodcocke, Trans. of *Hist. of Iestine* (1606), fol. 109 r.

"Up to the hard eares." R. C., *A World of Wonders* (1607), p. 149. The French original, by Henri Estienne, has simply "jusque aux oreilles."

"As for broken heads to the hard scalpe, were no dainty." Anon., *The Historie of Frier Rush* (1620), p. 14 (ed. 1828). By a common outworn idiom, they is here omitted before "were." *Scalpe* here has the old sense of "skull."

It must have been before the evolution of nightshirts that a man was first said—as even till past the middle of the last century he was sometimes said—"to be in naked bed" and "to go into his naked bed," instead of "to be in bed naked" and "to go to his bed naked." These extinct phrases are to be accounted instances of the absurdity which rhetoricians have dignified by the name of hypallage.

As to "they followed him at the hard heels," however, the like of which expression is twice seen above, we have, in it, I apprehend, nothing of a similar description. I mean that "they followed him at the hard heels" was not intended as a transposition, involving an adjective substituted for an adverb, of "they followed him hard at the heels," that is, as we should now put it, "they followed hard at his heels."

With regard to the other quotations which have been brought forward, it is patent that, for the most part, their *hard*, if thrown back, adverbialized, so as immediately to precede to, into, at, should, in reason, have, unprecedentedly, the sense of "quite," or that of "as far as," much rather than that of "close," "near." In all my quotations, too, there is, pretty clearly, one and the same peculiarity about their *hard*. How is it to be explained?

Ever since English arose, the *ground* or *earth* has, of course, had, equally with *cold*, *hard*, as a common epithet. But why may we not surmise that it was, of old, often called *hard* when there was no appropriate occasion for its being thus distinguished? "The *hard* ground" would, under such circumstances, convey no other idea than that of "the *ground*," or, with the stress worded, "the *very* ground"; and *hard*, being frequently taken, in one connexion, as an equivalent of "very," may easily have come to be taken, in other connexions, as likewise its equivalent. On this view, *hard*, as applied to *ashes*, *quick*, *ears*, *chin*, and *heels*, presents no difficulty. Helpful, doubtless, towards originating "*hard* ashes," "*hard* quick," and the rest, were, after "*hard* ground," such combinations as "*hard* bone," "*harde* wall," "*hard* foundations," in which the epithet not seldom seems to have been merely emphatic.

"Who, almost, was there?" As in this question, *almost* was long a synonym of *indeed*, *verily*. And now it has been made out, I think, that *hard* was formerly a synonym of *very*.

Two unusual locutions, in which *hard* has respect to severity or rigour, are, in conclusion, here exemplified:

"The Souldiers of Augustus . . . desired leave to be excused from the service, not because they would be so, indeed, but because they meant to hold Augustus (as the saying is) to hard meat, and make him grant what they demanded, for feare they should leave him." Sir Richard Baker, Trans. of *Malvezzi's Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus* (1642), p. 459.

"But what I answer I would be understood to direct to the Atheist and the Infidel, permitting them that already believe the substance, to vary their phantasies with what circumstances they please. But, for these others, I must hold them to hard meat, and cut my skirts as short as I can, that they sit not upon them." Rev. Dr. Henry More, *The Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660), p. 223.

"I asked Jack at the hard; and at first he could tell me nothing about it." Sir G. W. Dasent, *Half a Life* (1874), vol. i., p. 275.

F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENGLAND, March 9, 1894.

## Notes.

JAMES POTT & Co. publish immediately Dr. Henry Drummond's 'Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man'—"a study in embryos, in rudiments, in installations." The two summary closing lectures on the Ascent of Mankind are not reproduced.

'A Suburban Pastoral, and Other Tales,' by Prof. Henry A. Beers of Yale, is on the eve of publication by Henry Holt & Co.

'General Washington,' by Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, in the Great Commanders series; and the following novels, 'Cleopatra,' by Dr. George Ebers, 'A Daughter of To-day,' by Mrs. Everard Cotes, and 'Mary Fenwick's Daughter,' by Beatrice Whitby, are in the press of D. Appleton & Co.

Ginn & Co. will issue, this month, 'The Inflections and Syntax of Malory's Morte d'Arthur,' by Charles Sears Baldwin.

Hachette & Cie., Paris (New York: Dyssen & Pfeiffer), have begun to publish in instalments Maspero's 'Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient,' a work bearing the same title as that of 1875 by the same author, but otherwise wholly new in text and illustrations. The work will form three volumes, or 150 *livraisons*.

Mayer & Müller, Berlin, have undertaken to publish in chronological order the complete mathematical works of Karl Weierstrass, in eight volumes, beginning with his 'Development of Elliptic Functions' in 1841. The second part (five volumes) will embrace the majority of the lectures delivered by Weierstrass at the University of Berlin.

We come to a fresh season of reprints, and at the very top we must name the delightful two-volume edition of the Letters of Edward Fitzgerald (Macmillan). Mr. Wright has added some forty to the selection already published in connection with Fitzgerald's Writings, and not one of them would we miss; indeed, taken by themselves they illustrate Fitzgerald's character at almost every point—his friendships, human interest, critical taste, literary occupation, and inimitable epistolary style. Here we have the dawn of his Omar quatrains, more depreciation of Tennyson's "Princess," more of his Cromwell researches on behalf of Carlyle, another letter from Carlyle himself, more verbal discussion (damning "individual") in a letter to Fitzedward Hall, and a rare boyish reminiscence of country folk shooting at an effigy of Bonaparte by way of celebrating Waterloo. Then we see him longing to revive 'Clarissa Harlowe' with the aid of scissors, and suggesting that Sir Thomas Browne's style would bely a translation of 'Don Quixote.' These are but samples. The bulk of a book, Fitzgerald says, destroys his pleasure in the use of it; and this has been borne in mind for the present handy edition. Prof. Wright makes the captivating announcement that he is engaged in editing a voluminous correspondence of Fitzgerald with Mrs. Keble.

There is something about Fitzgerald's letters that reminds one of Pepys, and anyhow we mention next the fourth volume of Mr. Wheatley's substantially final edition of the Diary (London: Geo. Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan). It ends even with the third volume of the MS., and with the first half-year, 1665. The illustrations are Kneller's portrait of the diarist, with likenesses also of the Duke of York, Edward Cocker, and Sir William Petty.

Further volumes in the dainty rubricated Shakspeare of J. M. Dent & Co. (New York: Macmillan) are "Two Gentlemen of Verona" and "The Merry Wives of Windsor"; the latter being ornamented with the Chandos portrait, the former with a view of the bust in Stratford Church.

'Woodstock' and 'The Talisman' carry on the Black (Dryburgh) edition of the Waverley Novels (New York: Macmillan), the series now making twenty-one volumes.

Charles Scribner's Sons add 'My Farm at Edgewood' and 'Wet Days at Edgewood' to the uniform series of Donald G. Mitchell's works, in neat and unpretentious garb.

The late Dr. Alpheus Todd's 'Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies' has been edited afresh by his son, who supplies a very interesting, if brief, sketch of his father's career, besides bringing the work down to date in respect to the important legislation of the decade since the author's death, in Canada and other colonies. This pious (and useful) labor is in continuation of Mr. A. H. Todd's new edition of his father's 'Parliamentary Govern-

ment in England,' a few years ago. Both are standard works of reference. Longmans, Green & Co. are the publishers.

The Catholics, who felt themselves very near the spirit of Columbus in the celebrations which one is now rather glad to leave behind, have made a parting gift to the Columbian bibliophiles in a pretty book, 'The Columbus Memorial Volume,' in which the Catholic Club of New York and the United States Catholic Historical Society have united in admiration of the man whom some would like to adore as a saint.

'The Natural History of the Christian Religion' (Macmillan) is the taking title of the not very taking book which the Rev. William Mackintosh has written "to trace the origin of Christianity to the common religious instinct." The author has a good endowment of Scotch pertinacity in arguing out every phase of every theory to the bitter end, and this often gives an appearance of diffuseness to his pages, while his express reliance upon the "employment of conjecture" necessarily lends an air of unreality to many parts of his discussion. Strikingly in contrast is the method of Weizsäcker in his 'Apostolic Age of the Christian Church,' the first volume of which leads off in the new series of Williams & Norgate's "Theological Translation Library" (Putnams). Here we have a master of historical investigation, with his eye all the while on the fact, marshaling the different parts of the record into a sequence which has often been dislocated in the traditional form, and which, when restored, clears up many a puzzling tract in the narrative.

The life and works of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe (1674-1737), the author of the Biblical epic 'Joseph' and of 'Letters from the Dead to the Living,' are discussed by Dr. Theodor Vetter in an excellent brochure ('Die göttliche Rowe') just published at Zürich. Though now one of the "very dead" authors, Mrs. Rowe was a not insignificant figure in her own day. Her relations to the English literature of her century are interesting; but much more remarkable is the impression which her poetry made on her German contemporaries, especially Klopstock, who decorated her with the title "die göttliche." Dr. Vetter's tract sets forth the facts briefly but sufficiently, and is agreeably written.

After twenty-six years of honorable activity the Spenser Society has issued its farewell volume. The first publication of the society was 'The Proverbs and Epigrams' of John Heywood, the last is the same author's 'The Spider and the Fle.' Between these two volumes stand in stately series the works of Taylor the Water-Poet, of Wither, and of Drayton, the 'Tenne Tragedies of Seneca,' the 'Shepherds Calender' of 1579 in facsimile, and many other indispensable reprints. The demise of the society is to students of English the loss of an old and very helpful friend. The excellence of the present volume makes regret the more poignant. The edition of 1556 is carefully reprinted, and the amusing woodcuts, of which there are very many, are faithfully reproduced. Finally, Prof. A. W. Ward, the last president of the Society, has prefixed an introduction which is both a good discussion of the work and a graceful valedictory. *Vivat sequens!*

M. Yriarte has given us, in the 'Livre de Souvenirs de Maso di Bartolommeo dit Masaccio' (Paris: J. Rothschild), a very curious and interesting document. Maso, who must not be confounded with the great Masaccio, was a comparatively obscure Florentine sculptor of

the fifteenth century, and not otherwise of great importance than that he had the happy thought to keep, for eight years together, a brief diary and account-book, and that this manuscript has been preserved for us—part of it in the library of Prato and part in the Magliabecchiana at Florence. It forms a unique record of the life of an artist at that period, before artists became the great men that the sixteenth century made of some of them, and when they were humble craftsmen and ready to accept anything in their line of work, from the decoration of a cathedral front to the casting of cannon or church-bells. Maso even records the casting of copper balls for a bed, yet he was a sculptor of enough repute to be named with Michelozzi and Luca della Robbia in the contract for the bronze gates of the sacristy of Santa Maria del Fiore, and an architect eminent enough to be designer-in-chief of the façade of S. Domenico di Urbino, where Luca della Robbia was subcontractor only for the reliefs in majolica and in stone. M. Yriarte gives the manuscript in full in its original crabbed Italian, as well as his own commentary and a translation of the more important passages. There are forty-odd illustrations, but only a comparatively small proportion of their number is strictly relevant to the subject.

To do something new seems to have been the principal aim of the publishers of 'The Yellow Book; An Illustrated Quarterly' (London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane; Boston: Copeland & Day), vol. i. of which, for April, 1894, lies before us. It is bound in boards of a hideous yellow color, with a design, only more hideous than frivolous, in violent black. The pictures (for they are not illustrations and have no connection with the text, but are introduced for their own sake) are of the latest school of English impressionism, and are very slight or very affected or very vulgar. The page is a broad 12mo, and the lines of letterpress, in old-faced type, run straight across it, with old-style catchwords. The matter is, much of it, very modern and very impressionistic, the Whistlerian affectations of Mr. Max Beer-bohm's "Defence of Cosmetics" being particularly intolerable. The names of Henry James, George Saintsbury, and Edmund Gosse among the writers, and that of Sir Frederick Leighton among the artists, give, however, a somewhat higher tone to the table of contents, and Mr. Arthur Waugh's essay on "Reticence in Literature" is a healthy protest against many of the vices of "modernity."

Probably no book ever came into this world amid such a clamor of vociferous advertising as has heralded and accompanied the advent of M. Zola's 'Lourdes.' Interviews with its illustrious author began to appear months ago, and clever newspaper paragraphs have since been whetting the interest then excited. On the publication of the first instalment of the romance, Paris broke out in a carnival of *réclame*. Many colored "posters," advertising vans, sandwich men swarmed throughout the city. No such a launching, says M. Gaston Deschamps, has been seen since the days of Boulanger's election or of the glory of Buffalo Bill. Whether the novel will justify all this noise remains to be seen. The opening chapters seem a little clumsy and dull.

Six numbers of a folio "Bibliothèque de Dessin," issued from the Librairie de l'Art, 8 Boulevard des Capucines, Paris, are filled with facsimile drawings by masters old and modern, eight sheets to a number, without letterpress, at two francs the number. Figures predominate—portraits, studies, or imaginative cha-

acters—and the total represents the autographic work of Dürer, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Rubens, Potter, Jordaens, Visscher, Signorelli, Donatello, Da Vinci, Del Sarto, Sanzio, Watteau, Boucher, Rousseau, Millet, Fragonard, Jacquemart, Delaunay, Constable, Herkomer, Legros, and two Americans, Boughton and Knight—to mention only a part. These are very cheap examples of great draughtmanship, and must recommend themselves both for purposes of instruction and for decorative uses. The same establishment sends us four more parts (5-8) of the smaller "Bibliothèque d'Éducation Artistique," continuing the series of choice "Japanese decorative documents" drawn from the Gillot collection. The subjects are flowers and plants, quadrupeds and fish, and strikingly exemplify the keenness of Japanese observation and firmness of stroke in delineating animal life in motion. Humor vies here with the decorative instinct in a way unknown to Western art.

Dr. Harrison Allen's 'Monograph of the Bats of North America,' Bulletin 43 of the National Museum, is a work of great merit. The quality and thoroughness of its descriptions and comparisons, whether external or anatomical, should commend it to all zoölogists having to do with characterization or determination of species. Dr. Allen has devoted his energy to discovery of real additions to knowledge, rather than temporary arrangements; he has gathered a mass of information that cannot be set aside by future students and that is creditable alike to the author and the country. The work is done mainly from the specimens, comparatively little of it from the literature; its extent is shown in the fact that the record, from twenty-one species, with seven varieties, belonging to twelve genera, of two families, required 198 pages of closely printed text and 38 plates of illustrations.

A very dull imagination can infer from its title the labor and the merit of the volume just issued by a committee of the Society of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania, viz., 'Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College, together with lists of the members of the College Faculty, and the trustees, officers, and recipients of honorary degrees, 1749-1893.' A laudable compression has reduced this mass of details to less than 600 large octavo pages. Nothing is in order but to congratulate the University on the industry and devotion of its catalogue committee. Their work will be welcomed everywhere as one more bond in the union of educated men, and one more guide to posterity in tracing the fortunes and descent of a class whose conspicuity is not always commensurate with their influence.

The Geographical Society of Bern has published a report of its proceedings for the years 1891-1892, together with some score of papers presented to the society during this period. Among these we have noted a narrative of travels in Colombia, an interesting sketch of a visit to the King of Dahomey, and a notice by the president, Dr. Gobat, of some of the contributions to North American ethnology published by the Smithsonian Institution. Mr. A. S. Gatschet contributes, in English, some mythic stories of the Yuchi Indians, related to him by the pupil of a mission school at Wialaka, Creek Nation. In the first a council of the various animals, called by the Creator, decides that earth shall be taken from the bottom of the waters to provide solid matter for their home. After the loon and the beaver have failed, the crawfish succeeds in bringing up some mud in its claws which is

given to the Creator, who "rolled it out to a flat mass, spread it on the surface of the waters and it became land."

The geographical unity of the British empire is suggestively treated by Mr. George R. Parkin in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for May. The growth of the empire he holds to have been strictly organic—an expansion due to "the rush of a national life, powerful beyond all precedent, along the geographical lines of least resistance." Some striking illustrations of the close industrial dependence of different parts of the empire are given through figures showing the amount of the great staples of wool, meat, cheese, tea, as well as cotton, produced on British territory or in countries under British protection. An interesting series of maps, historical, political, and commercial, give a graphic picture of the growth of the empire during the last two centuries, the principal ocean steamship and telegraph lines, and the naval and coaling stations. "A Quiet Corner of the Alps," by V. Dingelstedt, is a genial description of the Vièze Valley, one of the most conservative regions in Roman Catholic Switzerland. Mr. Stuart-Glennie supplies a brief narrative of his recent explorations in Greece.

Stone & Kimball, Chicago and Cambridge, have founded a semi-monthly called the *Chap-Book*, of handy small duodecimo shape and tasteful get-up, which is to serve as an original literary medium as well as a means of advertisement for the house. The proportion of Canadian poets in the promised list of contributors is noticeable.

Mr. Francis Olcott Allen, 314 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, desires to learn the colors of the devices furnished by Franklin for the flags of the "Associators" of 1747 in Philadelphia, particularly device No. 1, "a lion erect, a naked scimitar in one paw, the other holding the escutcheon of Pennsylvania: motto, *Patria*."

An imperial photograph of the Rev. Edward E. Hale is the latest addition to Mr. F. Gutekunst's Philadelphia portrait gallery of celebrities. It is a faithful reflection of the features of the author of 'A Man without a Country,' considerably nearer his prime, we judge, than the septuagenarian now is.

—In an interesting and important opinion of the Court of Claims, on April 16, in the case of United States vs. Weil, Judge Nott not only holds, as our readers know, that the President may constitutionally sign a bill during a recess of Congress, but argues that what we call the veto power is no part of the legislative function, and therefore that an adjournment of the Legislature does not in reason affect the question of the power of the executive. Moreover, he traces the clause in the Federal Constitution which gives to the President his power of revising legislation to the Constitution of New York of 1777. That instrument established a Council of Revision having this power, and consisting of the Governor, Chancellor, and the judges of the highest State court, or any two of them with the Governor. The common doctrine, that our ordinary executive veto is founded on the old veto of the English King, is denied. "It is manifest, then, that the [Federal] Convention turned from the Constitution of England to the Constitution of New York. When they did so, the man did not live who regarded the Council of Revision as the successor of the Crown, or its approval or disapproval of bills as an exercise of the royal prerogative or a legislative power." Perhaps it is not

unreasonable, however, to consider that all which goes to making up the total process of enacting a law, including the revising process, is a part of the legislative function. It does not at all follow that all parts of it must be done while the two legislative houses are in session.

—As regards the history of the matter, Judge Nott has not mentioned that the Massachusetts Convention of 1779-'80 had been all over this ground long before the Federal Convention, and had furnished since 1780 a model which was closely followed; nor does he allude to the prominent part which Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts took in determining the shape of this part of the Federal instrument. This fact is mentioned by Mason in his learned and valuable book, 'Veto Power,' p. 19, note. All this, indeed, may be thought to leave Judge Nott's interesting point of history untouched, since Massachusetts evidently profited by the New York instrument, and the Federal Convention undoubtedly had it in view. But after all, clear as it is that our American "veto" is no veto at all, do not the debates show that, historically, it developed out of the English executive veto? And was not the New York revision, what Madison calls the Federal revision, "a qualified veto"? The circumstances of the case of U. S. vs. Weil suggest an interesting question as to the power of the President, upon a mere recess, to skip the recess and piece together the days preceding it, after the bill reaches him, and the days following it, after the adjournment, in making up the ten days allowed him for consideration before signing. In 1791 (Opinion of the Justices, 3 Mass., 567), the justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, where five days are allowed, laid it down, in an advisory opinion, that such a recess did not necessarily kill an unsigned bill, but that, if left unsigned for more than five days of the legislative session, excluding the recess, it became a law. "When a prorogation takes place," they added, "the session is ended, and a bill or resolve, after the session is ended, cannot acquire the force of law."

—Prof. David P. Todd, in charge of the U. S. scientific expedition to West Africa four years ago, having given the necessary permission, Mr. Heli Chatelain, philologist of the expedition, has published his 'Folk-Tales of Angola' as the first volume of "Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), a handsome book of upwards of 300 pages, comprising fifty tales, with Kimbundu text, literal English translation, introduction, notes, music, and two maps of Angola. We must leave to others the task of estimating the linguistic value of Mr. Chatelain's work, which, however, seems to us considerable, and mention briefly its importance for the student of folk-lore. The native African inhabitants of the Portuguese province of Angola belong to the Bantu stock, but they have been in contact with Europeans for four hundred years. A glance at the Kimbundu text shows Portuguese words in abundance, and a cursory examination of the tales reveals the existence of Portuguese, and possibly Italian, stories (see especially Nos. i., ii., iii., v., and xxvi.). It was, however, to the animal tales that we turned with the greatest anticipation, hoping to find many parallels to those in 'Uncle Remus,' Jones's 'Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast,' and Miss Owen's 'Voodoo Tales.' We were disappointed, and the points of contact with our own negro tales are few. The "Tar Baby" is found in No. xxii.; a trait of No. xvii.

is found among the Bahaman negroes; No. xxiii. suggests one of Aesop's fables (the sick lion and the fox, Lafontaine vi., 14), and No. xxxiii. another (the cat changed into a woman, Lafontaine ii., 18). No. xviii. is an interesting variant of the Eastern apologue treated by Benfey, 'Fantschatantra,' i., 113, and found all over Europe (see Köhler's notes to Gonzenbach's 'Sicilianische Märchen,' No. 60). Mr. Chatelain's work is, however, extremely interesting and valuable as showing the diffusion of European tales among savages by colonists, missionaries, and traders. Examples of this had previously been afforded by Mr. Jones's book mentioned above, and Miss Owen's work contained curious illustrations of the mutual relations between negroes and Indians. The American Folk-Lore Society is to be congratulated on having made such a scholarly beginning with its "Memoirs," and we shall look forward with interest to the second volume, which is to contain 'Folk-Tales of Louisiana,' by Alcée Fortier.

—Prof. Cook's 'First Book in Old English,' with grammar, reader, notes, and vocabulary (Boston: Ginn & Co.), will be welcomed as a valuable addition to the multiplying means of instruction in Old English. The grammar is a well-condensed compendium on the basis of Prof. Cook's translation of Sievers, and sufficient for the beginner. We are inclined to take issue with Prof. Cook as to his abandonment of the classification of nouns by stems for the sake of supposed ease in learning, and he himself anticipates criticism. This is the mistake made in Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' which classifies by plurals, and this classification very soon breaks down. It is much better for the student to put forth a little more effort in the beginning, and learn once for all the arrangement by stems, which then becomes a secure possession, available for any Teutonic language, instead of having to learn his noun-classification over again at a later period in his course. The prose selections are from Aelfric, King Alfred (*i. e.*, the translation of Bede that goes under his name, and a little from Boethius), Wulfstan, and 'Apollonius of Tyre.' The poetical selections include a few lines from 'Beowulf,' all too few, and some from 'Judith' and from 'Andreas'; the Greek 'Life' on which a part of 'Andreas' is founded is given in an Appendix, with a translation. The Appendix includes also specimens of the dialects, Northumbrian, Mercian, and Kentish. The notes at the foot of the pages contain copious grammatical references, and these are also found in the glossary, which, though brief in its meanings, is doubtless adequate for its purpose. German cognates are here frequently given.

—Prof. MacLean's 'Old and Middle English Reader,' on the basis of Zupitza's 'Alt- und Mittel-englisches Uebungsbuch,' with introduction, notes, and glossary (Macmillan), has been long in preparation, the text having been printed from Zupitza's third edition in 1886. The delay has, however, much improved the book, for Prof. MacLean has prefixed valuable descriptive notices of the selections, with bibliographical references and brief notes, and a short sketch of Old and Middle English versification by Oscar L. Triggs. The greatest improvement has been made in the glossary, which, in contrast with the bare meanings given in Zupitza, has been provided with etymological illustrations from cognate languages and with references to Skeat's 'Principles of English Etymology.' It may be questioned whether the ordinary student, at the stage for which this Reader is intended, has

sufficient phonetic and etymological training to profit by these illustrations; nevertheless, they are there for the use of the teacher. There are fifteen selections in Old English, from Caedmon's Hymn to the later Saxon Chronicle (1154), and nineteen in Middle English, from the 'Poema Morale' to Lydgate's 'Guy of Warwick'—all short, and arranged chronologically rather than graded in difficulty; but the Old English student would hardly begin with the Northumbrian dialect. We miss a compendium of grammar, for want of which a constant use of Sievers for Old English and some other work for Middle English is necessary. Prof. MacLean well says: "The time has come to make Old English available for those of English speech as the natural point of departure for the study of Comparative Philology." It is hoped that teachers of English will agree with him, and his book will serve as a useful help to that end. A few misprints in the Introduction may be readily corrected.

—The two most recently discovered orations of Hyperides have been edited, with an introduction and translation, by Mr. F. G. Kenyon, assistant curator of MSS. in the British Museum (London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan). The object of the experienced editor has been to furnish, in a convenient and inexpensive form, these latest treasures from Egypt, which are at present accessible only in foreign periodicals, or accompanied by a costly facsimile. The fragment against Philipides derived from a papyrus belonging to the British Museum is so incomplete as to possess an interest chiefly for the scholar and the antiquarian. But the speech against Athenogenes is much better preserved, and is for many reasons the most interesting that has survived to us of the works of Hyperides. It shows the tact, address, and the forensic skill of the famous defender of Phryne in a case very similar to hers in point of delicacy and difficulty. It reveals also the methods of the Athenian sharper and "confidence-woman"; while the frank picture of society and manners sketched by the orator forms the counterpart and supplement of some comedy of Menander. Mr. Kenyon's introduction furnishes the student with the needful outline of facts, and his free and spirited rendering supplies certain gaps in the manuscript and argument. The text is printed line for line with the original papyrus, indicating the lacunae conjecturally filled or to be filled. A facsimile page is given from the papyrus in the Louvre, discovered in 1888. This dates from the second century A. C., and is the oldest MS. we possess of a classic, unless it may be Mr. Flinders Petrie's manuscript fragment of the 'Phædo' and the 'Antiope.'

—A correspondent writes from abroad:

"An article in the May number of the *Nineteenth Century* on the 'Old Art Criticism and the New,' by Mary Whitehall Costelloe, comes just in time to make us fully appreciate the evil of leaving such an important post as the directorship of the National Gallery in the gift of mere politicians. Taking up the so-called 'Raphael's' of the Louvre, and the so-called 'Botticelli's' of the National Gallery, Mrs. Costelloe demonstrates clearly and forcibly what a lamentable effect the one lot had on the French classical school, and the other on the English Pre-Raphaelites, and suggests that both would have been saved from the exaggerations they fell into had they not modelled themselves on rubbish palmed off as Raphael and Botticelli. The conclusion Mrs. Costelloe draws is that it is all-important that the director of a gallery should be a scientific connoisseur, as such a director is most likely to be free from the school prejudices of a professional painter, and most

likely to buy for the public's money works of art of real benefit to the public. Mrs. Costelloe's thesis is well borne out by the singular fact that the three best-kept and best-catalogued galleries in the world, those of Munich, Dresden, and Berlin, are directed by connoisseurs, and that Dr. Bode, with comparatively small expenditure, is enriching the Berlin Gallery so fast that it will soon outstrip the National Gallery, in spite of the extravagance of its painter-directors. By appointing another water-color painter of questionable merit to the directorship of the English National Collection, Lord Rosebery has done all he could to defeat the purpose of its existence—the presentation of great art in a rational, illuminating way to the general public."

#### BRITISH DIPLOMACY IN THE FAR EAST.

*The Life of Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., sometime Her Majesty's Minister to China and Japan. Two vols. Parts I., III., in China, 1842-1865, 1883-1885, by Stanley Lane Poole; Part II., in Japan, 1865-1883, by F. V. Dickins. Macmillan & Co. 1894.*

RATHER short, bustling and alert in movement, fair-haired, with tight lips, the lower one shutting over the upper, piercing blue eyes, a firm jaw, strong nose, lines of sternness above the mouth—such was the man who for one decade in China and two in Japan represented British foreign policy, and accomplished a career typically English. The estimates of two associates describe him well and sufficiently. Said Lord Elgin:

"Parkes is one of the most remarkable men I have ever met; for energy, courage, and ability combined, I do not know where I could find his match; and this, joined to a facility of speaking Chinese, . . . makes him at present the man of the situation."

Said Sir Chaloner Alabaster:

"He believed that the first duty of an Englishman was to make England great; that to do so you should act as an Englishman, be perfectly fair and just, never to do anything mean or ungentlemanly, but have your own way in everything, and fight to the death, and if possible beyond it, to get it."

Sent out to China (1841) at the age of thirteen to become an interpreter, he was soon made Consulate Interpreter at Amoy; thence, by successive achievements of energy and skill, he was enabled to rise to Acting Consul at Canton (1853), Consul at Amoy (1854), Secretary to the Siamese Mission (1855), Commissioner for Canton (1858), Consul at Shanghai (1859), K. C. B. in 1862, Minister to Japan (1865), and, finally, Minister to China (1883). His death in 1885 may be said to mark the end of an epoch of Oriental history as well as of a method of diplomacy peculiar to that epoch. No doubt, as Lord Wolseley said, "he would have made a great general." In the circumstances of his lacking high birth and favoring influence, of his opportunity to cope with new and difficult problems in a foreign community, and of his ultimate rise to distinction through sheer force of personality, his career reminds one immediately of the great John Lawrence. Only one circumstance, but one of infinite significance, separates him forever from the honor of being classed with the Indian hero: his character lacked that spirit of true generosity and sympathy which made Lawrence one of Nature's noblemen. "Act as an Englishman" and "have your own way in everything"—this motto indicates at once the scope and the limits of his ideal and of his achievements. "He appears to have succeeded . . . in every diplomatic enterprise he undertook during the entire period of his ser-

vice in Japan" without firing a shot or using a threat of force; this is the highest praise that one of his biographers can give him or (apparently) cares to give him.

What of history's judgment on the events in which he took part? We need not here look for help to his loyal and uncritical biographers. With a devoted and admirable faith in the rightness of Englishmen everywhere, and especially in China and Japan, they have both unwittingly succeeded in making it impossible for the uninformed reader to learn the true conditions of things, the exact issues involved, the considerations which bear on the ultimate judgment of the historian; yet all the while they have unawares revealed their simple and trusting partisanship. Both write here with the same pen and are the same author. Once in a while a latent suspicion arises for the biographer that there is possibly another point of view, but this is speedily and satisfactorily argued down; as where he claims that Sir Harry never used or threatened force, and then, in fine ingenuousness, hastens to add: "Doubtless the Japanese Ministers were sometimes warned in unmistakable language of what might be the effects of adopting or persevering in a particular policy, but a warning is not a threat, though circumstances sometimes give it that color"—and a very black color, too, if the facts were told; or, where he refers briefly to that odious insult, the illegal maintenance by Parkes of an armed battalion of British troops on Japanese soil for eleven years, and then, calmly admitting that "they might probably have been quite safely withdrawn at an earlier period," proceeds to argue that it was just as well as it was, because they "saved the Japanese Government trouble and expense" in some unspecified way. Let us now run over some of the leading events in order.

(1.) In the bombardment of Canton in 1856, the second war with China, and the Tien-tsin Treaty of 1860, Harry Parkes was the living energy; what he did not do personally was at least represented in his spirit. What were the ethics of these doings? England was determined to get a trade with China; China did not want to trade with England; England therefore resorted to brute force; she made use of questionable, even flimsy pretenses—opium in 1842, the seizure of criminals on a junk in 1856—brought slaughter and devastation to Chinese cities, and as a price made China pay millions for English war expenses and open thirteen ports to trade. The total result was "a gain of at least £2,000,000 a year in English imports" by the first war, and "a further increase of £3,500,000" by the second war. Now the biographer says that the isolation which China desired "could not be permitted, and it would be bad for the world at large if it were." But the pages of his book show that the real reason why it "could not be permitted" was that it would be bad for England if, on some pretext and by some means, England could not get a fuller share of the profits of Chinese trade. The fact that, through the influence of Cobden and Bright, there was a vote of censure and a dissolution of Parliament on this question in 1857 shows that at least a section of the British public believed in the immorality of the pretext taken and the means employed; and the fair historian should take account of this, and not dismiss it contemptuously as an instance of legislators "meddling in foreign affairs of which they know nothing."

(2.) The burning of the Imperial Summer Palace at Peking in 1860 was done, it must be remembered, after the British force had complete command of the city and the whole object

of the war was accomplished; and was intended, as is admitted, solely as a "punishment," and "to make the Emperor and the Government feel it in the most sensitive quarter." What has the biographer to offer? "From the dilettante's point of view it was like an act of vandalism; from that of sound policy in China it was statesmanlike." If this be so, give us more of "dilettanteism" and less of British "statesmanship" abroad.

(3.) In Japan we come first to the murder of Richardson and the British retaliatory expedition to Kagoshima, which bombarded and destroyed an innocent city of 100,000 people in revenge for the well-provoked killing of a single insolent brute, and then demanded and obtained \$3,000,000 from a poor nation in payment (grossly excessive) of the expenses of the raid. This was just before the time of Parkes; but he approved of it, and so does his biographer, of course. He wholly misstates the facts of the Richardson affray, and the raid, as we might have expected, he calls "absolutely necessary." Fortunately the facts are on record.

(4.) The Japanese expedition to Formosa, in 1874 (ostensibly intended, like that of Decatur to Algiers, to inflict punishment on bands of pirates there), which Sir Harry Parkes condemns roundly in his correspondence, is one of the most complicated topics of diplomatic history in Japan, particularly in connection with the question it raised of the right of an American (General Legendre) to enlist in the Japanese service. But the reader would not from these pages suspect that there was any complication. It is stated, too, that "the real object was rather to affirm the sovereign rights of Japan over the Loochoo Islands, as against the somewhat shadowy supremacy of China" (p. 186), and that "it ended in what amounted to a recognition by China of the Loochoo Islands as a portion of the Japanese Empire, to which, indeed, by race and geography they belong" (p. 196). In other words, the Japanese planned and accomplished a task of great national import. But between whiles (p. 190) we are told that "there can be no doubt that the expedition to Formosa was a mere piratical raid"; and the honest reader is left to guess which conclusion he is to take.

(5.) As to the quarantine regulations of Yokohama, the facts are that the Japanese Government, in August, 1878, were putting in force quarantine regulations designed to keep out cholera, then threatening from China; that Mr. Bingham, the American Minister, had sanctioned these for American ships; that Sir Harry, because, as he says, his consent had not been "formally requested" (though he was actually consulted), refused and instigated other ministers to refuse consent; that in consequence of this refusal an infected vessel sailed in and landed its diseased passengers, and that 80,000 Japanese in that year and the next died of a plague which, in all human probability, would not have come if Sir Harry had done as the American Minister did. If facts count for anything, the deaths of those Japanese are on the head of Sir Harry Parkes. His biographer is careful not to state the circumstances, but says that "the controversy can only be glanced at here," and refers his readers to a newspaper file of November, 1879, for the facts! This same expedient of referring to a buried newspaper file is also resorted to by the biographer for disposing of detailed charges of misconduct which one would like to have seen openly and squarely dealt with in such a work as this. Considering that they were put forward in print by such eminent friends of

Japan as Sir E. J. Reed and Mr. E. H. House, it is rather singular that the biographer contents himself with insinuating that Sir Edward was, in making them, guilty of a breach of hospitality towards Sir Harry, and by adding that "it must suffice to refer to Sir Harry Parkes's letter of simple denial printed in the *Times* of June 4, 1881."

While we cannot fail to stamp the work of this most eminent of modern Eastern diplomats with the disapproval which it merits, we must not forget that the criticism should not be a purely personal one. Sir Harry Parkes was merely the representative of a certain mode of dealing with the Orient. As an individual he only did, and did well and magnificently, what was demanded and approved by the traditions of a nation and the instincts of a race. In the first place, the traditions of British diplomacy have persistently sanctioned the policy of bullying an "inferior" nation which has something that the Briton wants. The deeds and the language of such envoys as Hammond, Merry, and "Copenhagen" Jackson, and of such foreign secretaries as Wellesley and Canning, are specimens of the political Bible from which Sir Harry Parkes took his inspiration. In the second place, the instincts of a race come in the way of a good understanding between Englishmen (and in a less degree other Germanic peoples) and Orientals. The key to the situation is the existence of two different points of view, and the almost inevitable clashing of the conduct of those who represent them. The genius of the East is one thing, of the West another thing. Neither can hope wholly to understand the other. What can be done is at least that each should try to understand that the other has a different point of view, and to make allowances so far as may be. What is foolish and wrong and cruel is that the stronger should deny that the other has any point of view worth considering, and should go at it with force and arms and bully it out of its claims, and then abuse it as uncivilized for wanting to have its own way of looking at things. This is what the Parkes school has always done, and this, let us be thankful, is what American diplomacy, in Japan, has generally declined to do. It is unfortunate, but it is inevitable, that such a conflict of forces should exist where there is such a difference of national genius. But it is also unfortunate, though by no means inevitable, that biographers cannot be found who can appreciate the two sides of the question. That there is another side we have tried to indicate. When we remember what the Chinese have suffered from American mobs and American politicians, and what bitter recollections they have of the tender mercies of British gunboats, we can begin to understand something of why they decline to open their country fully to the influences of Western "civilization." That is the explanation of a good deal of Chinese statesmanship to-day.

#### RAYMOND'S THEORY OF ART.

*Art in Theory: An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Aesthetics.* By George Lansing Raymond, L.H.D., Professor of Aesthetics in the College of New Jersey at Princeton. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1894.

THIS book is an elaborate effort to find a common basis for all the fine arts—a fundamental principle which distinguishes art as such from other forms of human effort, and from which a system of criticism can be deduced that may be applied to each art in turn. It is, though not

first in order of publication, the introduction to a series of volumes in which this system is to be so applied. There can be no doubt of the desirability of such a canon of criticism if it can be found, nor of the industry and ingenuity which Prof. Raymond has brought to the task of finding it. His reading on everything even remotely connected with his subject has evidently been immense, and quotations from every one under the heavens are "as plenty as blackberries" in his pages. Indeed, they overload them and help to make his volume the hard reading it unmistakably is. His reasoning is "inductive": i. e., having a theory to expound, he begins as far from it as possible, and tries to show, by elaborate approaches, how one may arrive at it, thus continually tantalizing the reader, who wants to know what he is driving at. His style is heavy and almost floundering, and his profuse use of italics is irritating alike to mind and eye. Take as an example a sentence which is also worth noting as the key to his theory:

"As the result, which we term *art*, is a combination of what comes, in the first place, from nature or *natural instinct*, and in the second place, from a *human* being exercising the distinctive traits of the human *mind*, we may say that, in this case at least, *art* is *nature made human*, or *nature remade by the human mind*."

A little further on in the same paragraph there are nine italicized words in three lines. The reader revolts, and feels like assuring the author that he is not so dull but that he can catch the point without such a dig in the ribs.

Leaving here the question of form, let us consider the substance of the book—the theory of art it inculcates. It will be impossible to follow it through all the windings of its development, but we will try to give a fair notion of what it is, to touch it in its course here and there and show the queer conclusions to which it brings the author, and to point out what seems to us its inadequacy.

According to Prof. Raymond, then, all art is representation, is "nature made human." This is practically Zola's definition, "Art is nature seen through a temperament." All the arts are fine in the degree in which they represent nature and at the same time express the human mind. Nature furnishes the form while the mind furnishes the significance. Here comes in the astonishing third chapter on "Form and Significance as Antagonistic," in which classicism and romanticism are considered as the two tendencies in art which spring from this antagonism, "the germ" of classicism being "the conception, which inevitably tends to imitation, that art should chiefly emphasize the form; whereas the germ" of romanticism "is the conception that the ideas expressed in the form should be chiefly emphasized." Here we are apparently landed in the preposterous conclusion that classicism and realism are one and the same, and our perplexity is not helped when we are immediately informed that they are not, though with no reason given, and when we suddenly find that classicism is based, not on form as found in nature, but on form as found in previous works of art.

In fact, classicism and romanticism are not founded at all on the antagonism of form and significance. "Sound, not sense" was certainly never a motto of classic literature. Classicism and romanticism are tempers of mind which equally affect the form and the substance of art; classicism being reasonable, logical, and constructive, while romanticism is emotional and sensuous. In classicism the intellect dominates the feelings, while in romanticism the feelings dominate the intellect.

The next few chapters are, naturally enough, devoted to showing that this antagonism between form and significance is not real, and that this is true because art does not imitate but represents in another material and manner the facts of nature, and that the representation of either nature or mind requires the representation of the other. In all this the author succeeds fairly well as long as he deals with the strictly imitative arts of painting and sculpture, but his efforts to make music and architecture fit into his theory are not happy. When one finds him saying, "Columns, arches, and roofs do not by any means copy or imitate, but they do represent, the trunks and branches and watershedding leaves of the forest," one feels that something is wrong, and one is almost prepared for the horrors of the paragraph in which, after asking why the conception of a Gothic cathedral may not have been suggested by the trunks and branches of an avenue of trees, he goes on as follows:

"Whatever answer may be given to this question, . . . none can fail to recall that we frequently find in architecture actual reproductions of the figures of men, animals, leaves, and flowers, chiselled, carved, or worked in some way into the ornamentation, and who can say that the world has seen the highest developments in these directions? Why might it not be possible to carry these methods further, and to produce an interior the columns, groinings, and ceilings of which should resemble, as closely as could the forms of a landscape picture, the trunks and leaves of, say, a palm grove, while the walls and partitions should resemble natural rocks overgrown by natural vines? Is it not conceivable, too, in this age, when artificial tile and brick and stone can be produced in all possible colors, and when iron can be moulded into beams and platings of all possible shapes, that, with judicious selections of natural models and artistic foreshortenings, exteriors might be produced in the wholes or parts of which, both in walls and roofs, the resemblances to natural appearances—vine-clad or flower-covered groves, mounds, cliffs—should be almost as unmistakable as in certain painting and sculpture?"

From such an "architecture of the future," good Lord, deliver us!

Chapter vii. is on the "Art-impulse," and identifies it, as others have done, with the impulse to *play* which comes of excess of life-force. The author considers imitation the only invariable characteristic of play, which naturally conducts him to his theory of "representative art." The trouble with this is that it fails to show in what lies the difference between imitation and art—between playing soldiers and the drama. Evidently something more than he has hit upon so far is necessary to account for art, and at page 83 beauty is suddenly introduced as the characteristic of natural objects that prompts man to artistic representation of them. Chapters xi. to xv. are therefore taken up with a long analysis of beauty, with much of which we disagree, especially the mixing up moral beauty with physical, but the general conclusion of which might, we think, have put our author on the right track. This general conclusion, with which we are quite in accord, is that beauty is nothing else than order, harmony, or proportion; beauty of sound, beauty of form, beauty of color, being the resultant of mathematical proportions in lines, sound waves or color waves. We will not follow Prof. Raymond through the rest of the volume, in which he ceases to make use of this definition of beauty (which is half apologetically introduced as a side issue) and goes back to his theory of art as "nature made human," tracing out its application in various ways to the arts and their order in place and time, but will merely re-

mark that he seems to prove that architecture should be the latest of the arts to develop, whereas it is notoriously one of the earliest. Instead, we shall state as briefly as possible what we conceive to be the true bond of unity between the arts—the true fundamental principle of art in all its forms.

We take art to be the application to *anything*, in the spirit of play and for pleasure only, of the principle of proportion. The arts deal with great variety of matter and by no means all of them with representation. Music deals with pure sound and is only incidentally imitative. Poetry deals with the expression in words of thought and emotion. Architecture deals with construction. Painting deals with delineation and also with pure color, in which it approaches music. Acting is the most purely imitative, perhaps, of all the arts. But, whatever be the difference of subject-matter, the one thing common to all art is the application of the principle of order. Rhyme and rhythm added to the expression of thought make poetry; sound submitted to the laws of harmony and melody becomes music; and so with the other arts. How does the dance differ from playful leaping but in its subjection to measure? There is nothing artistic in planting, but when three trees were first planted in a row for pleasure, not for utility, landscape gardening began. And if it were necessary to make a graded hierarchy of the arts, we should say that that art was the highest which permitted of the most permanent, subtle, and complicated harmonies and proportions; architecture being a lower art than painting and music, because its proportions are more rudimentary and simple, while acting is lower because its harmonies are not permanent. But it is also necessary for art, if it be great art, to deal greatly with its subject-matter. Hence, besides the perfection of harmony or order which is necessary to all art, each has its own perfection peculiar to itself, so that poetry, dealing with expression, must be greatly expressive, architecture, dealing with construction, must be greatly constructive, and painting, dealing with delineation, must be greatly imitative. That which is truly ideal in all art is the element of order, the form. The other element varies in the various arts, and bears one name or another, and it is the same law we have so often dwelt on, that painting shall be realistic as well as idealistic, which necessitates that poetry shall contain thought as well as rhythm, and that architecture shall base its fair proportions upon sound construction. We cannot here work out this theory further and modify it to suit the thousand variations and interlockings of the many manifestations of art, each of which at times borrows something from the others, and so far changes its nature; but we believe it to be the true theory of the nature of art, and commend its development to the student of aesthetics.

*Greek Vase Paintings: A Selection of Examples.* With preface, introduction, and descriptions by J. E. Harrison and D. S. MacColl. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: The Century Co., 1894.

AN important service has been rendered to all lovers of ancient Greek fictile art by making accessible to them, at the very moderate price of ten dollars, this choice selection of examples of Greek vase paintings. Hitherto the study of this branch of ancient art has been possible only for those who could visit the great archaeological museums of the Old World, or who, at considerable cost and trouble, have been

able to procure the expensive volumes in which these objects have been reproduced. The editors have been permitted to make a selection of plates from volumes of this character, and these have been reproduced by modern process-work. The value of the present volume, of course, depends upon the skill and judgment with which such selection has been made. All the important collections in Europe, some twenty in number, have been drawn upon, and even the one in Baltimore has furnished two illustrations. But naturally the British Museum has supplied a larger proportion of the forty-three plates, fourteen in number, including two from photographs; while the Louvre, Vienna, Munich, and Berlin have contributed in about equal shares. The indebtedness of the editors to the German Archaeological Society, the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, and Hartwig's 'Meisterschalen,' is frankly acknowledged; while Gerhard's 'Auserlesene Vasenbilder,' and his 'Trinkschalen' have been also drawn upon. The vases figured have been chosen simply for their excellence and beauty, and not from their mythological or archaeological value. While only a few of the designs are adduced as masterpieces, yet in its entirety this collection is ample to inspire an appreciative comprehension of the history and progress of the art of vase-painting.

That good taste and sound learning have been combined is guaranteed by the names of the joint editors. Mrs. Harrison's 'Myths of the Odyssey' and her 'Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens' are familiar to Greek scholars. Mr. MacColl, in his preface, is strenuous to "redress an injustice of fame done to Euphronius, Hieron, and other masters of one of the most finely balanced arts of design and poetry ever struck out in decoration." He goes on, dwelling upon the subtle refinements of style that have so impressed him, and concludes that "to find the image of a people . . . who could marry grace and dignity with their mirth, we must burrow in Greek graves. . . . Tomb has delivered them to Museum, and it is time that the book-worm should not be the only heir of his brother." Mrs. Harrison's "Introductory Historic Note" is modestly called by her only "a sketch drawn up strictly with reference to the plates, and not in any sense a history of Greek Ceramography. . . . It is an attempt to put together what is known as to the methods and even mannerisms of the several artists." But classical archaeologists, we are inclined to think, will speak of it in quite different terms. To us it seems to sum up in a brief, comprehensive way, all the latest knowledge in this controverted branch of the history of ancient art. It tells sufficiently how painted vases were made, and how they have been named according to their various shapes and uses. Upon the vexed question of the date of the transition from the earlier black-figured to the red-figured technique, Mrs. Harrison shows how Ludwig Ross's discovery, in 1835, of a fragment of a red-figured plate in the layer of débris from the Persian sack of the Acropolis, 480 B. C., has been abundantly confirmed by the exhaustive excavations made there since 1887. "We no longer trouble about the influence of Polygnotus on the work that preceded him, and we no longer try to detect in vase-paintings motives from the sculptures of the un-built Parthenon, or subjects from the plays as yet unacted of Æschylus and Sophocles." The whole work, in both styles, has now been brought within the limits of the century from 570 to 470, or even less, and by means of art-

ists' signatures and dedicatory inscriptions even closer limits can be drawn.

The Black-Figured Masters who worked principally upon amphoreæ are first described, and then the transition to "Epiktetos and his set," with whom the *kylix* was the favorite shape for the display of their skill, is set forth in ample detail. It used to be thought that "the black-figured style laid down its life at Marathon. The new chronology forbids all this, and we have come to see that the artist can take delight in twisting the limbs of an athlete and composing a revel without the impulse of a Persian war." Euphronius, and the other great masters of the red-figured style, Duris, Peithinus, Hieron, and Brygos, are lovingly dwelt upon, and the specimens given of their skill are fully described. We are told how many examples of each master are known, and their individuality is so discriminated that the criteria by which unsigned works are allotted to their authors are made readily comprehensible.

We wish that space permitted our giving an outline of the chapter upon "Athenian White Funeral Lekythoi" and of that on "The Interpretation of Vases." These show Mrs. Harrison's strength at its best, as might be expected from her previous writings. Her accuracy is equal to her learning; and we have noticed only one slip, where (p. 19, line 3 from bottom) she speaks of "the walls of the Museum at Athens." As the Museum is a hill, it is evident that she meant to write *Theseum*. Her account (p. 17) of plate xi., "The contest of Hercules with the triple-bodied Geryones," is inconsistent with the description given of the plate, and is manifestly wrong in the number stated of the figures both of the warriors and of the herd. Although the volume in hand is a marvel of cheapness and excellence combined, we regret that sufficient pains has not been taken to revise the text and to compare it with the numbering of the plates. Certainly it is strange that no List of Plates is furnished. We have noted the following errors, and trust that the needed corrections may be made in a work that is destined to become a standard: P. 20, line 20, for pp. 18, 19, read 27, 28; line 32, for plate xvi. read xv.; line 34, for plate iii. read iv.; line 45, for plate xvii. read xvi. P. 21, line 4, for plate xviii. read xvii.; line 6 from bottom, for plate xii. read xiii.; P. 22, lines 4 and 7, for plate xix. read xviii.; line 14, for plate xx. read xix.; line 31, for plate xxi. read xx. P. 24, line 7 from bottom, for p. 22 read 30. P. 26, line 3, for p. 23 read 31. P. 32, line 2 from bottom, for p. 32 read 22.

*Town Life in the Fifteenth Century.* By Mrs. J. R. Green. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Now that so much interest is being taken in social history, there is sure to be a ready welcome for a book which describes the internal life of English towns at the period of their greatest power; especially when that book appears in two comely volumes with the impress of a great publisher, and the reader need only open it to come upon analogies or contrasts to present-day conditions stated in language pointed and highly colored. The name which the authoress bears: the dedication of her work to the memory of the author of the "History of the English People"; the statement in the preface that it was undertaken in fulfillment of a promise made to him when his work was over—these circumstances all help to make the welcome warmer, for, to most of those who care for English history, John Richard Green is a cherished name. Starting, per-

haps, with some irritation against the "stylist" whose success for the time threw his masters into the shade, they have come to feel something like a personal affection for that transparent soul who struggled so hard against such odds, and did so much to make the "island story" dear to all English-speaking people. They rejoice to see that name once more coupled, by one who bears it, with worthy achievements.

And, indeed, this book of Mrs. Green's deserves a good deal more than a *succès d'estime*. In the first place, it is the result of arduous labors which have probably occupied several years; though possibly her readers will hardly realize how much the way had been smoothed by earlier scholars, especially Schanz and Gross. And then, secondly, several of the chapters, especially those on the "Battle for Freedom" and "The Battle for Supremacy," deal, and, on the whole, deal effectively, with topics hitherto strangely disregarded by English writers, though their importance for Continental towns has long been recognized by foreign scholars. The contrasted fortunes of towns upon the royal demesne and of towns upon baronial or church estates in their efforts to secure municipal self-government, and the difficulties with which municipalities had to struggle which were confronted with rival jurisdictions within their walls, are here for the first time emphatically set forth. To the serious student of municipal history, in particular, the book will serve as a stimulant—if only to controversy; and even that would be an agreeable exchange for the isolation which has usually been the fate of workers in this field. It will serve also as an indication of the material at his disposal.

Still, it must be avowed that, in spite of its high purpose and popular language, we have seldom come across a more wearisome book. This is in part the fault of its style, which is a curiously faithful echo of the style of John Richard Green. Even in the hands of its creator, that style, with its perpetual effort after picturesqueness and emphasis, was apt to become a little trying to the nerves. The "Short History" was saved by the very breadth of the space to be covered and the compression which fortunately formed part of its plan. Rapid movement was necessary, and this carried us safely over the epithets, not to mention that in a thousand years of history there were occasions to which a large proportion of the glittering adjectives and resonant verbs could be fitly applied. But the case is different when the same style is applied in eight hundred pages to such a subject as the fifteenth-century borough. A brief, broadly generalized statement of the movement of town life during the hundred years could be made interesting to a reflecting mind; an episode here and there might even be found to have dramatic quality; but we may be tolerably certain that a true statement of the minutiae of the municipal history of any century—the fifteenth as well as the nineteenth—must be pretty dull, if for no other reason than that human affairs are intricate, and that intricacy is seldom obviously interesting. And the writer who attempts to make every page sparkling is pretty sure to pay the penalty. So has it been with Mrs. Green. Again and again we come upon the most startling inconsistencies; and in almost every case the explanation is that the temptation to say a "strong" thing—to use "utterly" and "altogether" and "completely," to talk of "a struggle for life" and "the drain of taxation," to exult over "buoyant and exuberant strength" or to lament over "dreary groups seething with inarticulate

discontent"—has been too much for sober judgment.

Yet the book is not sufficiently inconsistent to be impartial; and this brings us to an even graver defect. The impression which as a whole it produces is that of panegyric alternating with special pleading. The keynote is struck in the preface, where we are reminded that Mr. Green's own "brilliant sketch of the early life of English towns" was "inspired by ardent sympathy and emotion." Mrs. Green evidently aspires to continue his work. But until we are pretty certain of the fundamental facts and relations, "ardent sympathy and emotion" are precisely the qualities most in the way. The reason why the student of physical science only too often despises history is just this—that it has been written with "emotion." Even Mrs. Green would agree that the accounts hitherto given of other mediæval institutions—for instance, of the Church—are largely vitiated by "sympathy." When she herself comes to treat of the labor question and the crafts and the guild merchant, in her second volume, she confesses that there is much that is still obscure. Would it not be well to keep our feelings well in hand until we have more light? As it is, the reader who goes to these volumes must be prepared to find the boroughs always in the right, whether in their difficulties with the royal government, the church, or the crafts. To all these powers the meanest motives are freely attributed. And yet, when we reflect that royal administration, church, and crafts all indubitably contributed valuable elements to progress, and that the lot of those countries, like Germany, where the towns gained more of their own way, was not altogether satisfactory, we cannot help feeling that such partisanship is no safe guide.

*Secularism: its Progress and its Morals.* By John M. Bonham, author of "Industrial Liberty." G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1894.

THE philosophy of secularism has never been set forth more gravely and effectively than in Mr. Bonham's book. His main contention is that the scientific and industrial environment tends to the substitution of scientific conceptions for metaphysical and theological notions, to a belief in natural law as opposed to the belief in supernatural agency. He lays much stress on the impersonal character of the influence of the environment. It does not arouse the antagonism excited by anti-theological assaults like those of Bradlaugh and Ingersoll, neither of whom is named, though they, and such as they, are clearly in the writer's mind. In the development of this idea and elsewhere throughout the book there is much interesting and suggestive matter; but for one so resolutely anti-metaphysical in his purpose Mr. Bonham has a singularly metaphysical mind. He deals in abstractions and deductions much more freely than in the concrete and inductive method of science. His two chapters on "Intuition" are notable in this respect.

Much better, partly because so much more definite, are the two chapters which follow, "Advanced Theology" and "Qualified Science." He is much more concerned with the inconsistencies of those thinkers who profess to welcome the discoveries of science and to square their theology with them, than he is with the ultra-conservatives. He has many things upon this head that are worthy of the most serious consideration on the part of those to whom they are addressed. The chapter on "Qualified Science" is for the benefit of Mr.

Herbert Spencer in the main. It finds him, if not "very religious" as St. Paul is now translated, "too superstitious" as he was translated formerly. Mr. Bonham's is one more of many admirable criticisms on Spencer's reconciliation of science and religion on a basis of common ignorance. That Spencer, setting out to build a system of philosophy that should be a synthesis of the sciences, should have quarried his foundations from the rotten-stone of Mansel's metaphysical 'Limits of Religious Thought' is the comic tragedy of contemporary speculation. But that his present critic, if less metaphysical, is less religious than Mr. Spencer in his implications is by no means clear. He says: "All thinking men agree that there is a power beyond us which mundane experiences in themselves do not enable us to define." He solicits for this power no reverence, but, as the power that is at the back of all those laws of nature which are so impressive to his imagination, reverence for it would seem to be inevitable. He has his own teleology, for he is ready enough to tell us that "Nature meant" this and that; and such teleology only needs to spell its subject with three letters instead of six to be something very like theology.

He must not be astonished if a good many of his readers do not think that he has made an end of all religion. There are a great many people whose rejection of supernatural religion is quite as definite and intelligent as his own, who believe in the reality of religion nevertheless. To fancy that these can all be routed by an attack on some individual position of Canon Farrar or the 'Scotch Sermons' of 1880 is a flagrant instance of reckoning without one's host. In the course of the discussion, the term "supersensual" is often used to express the sphere of the unknown and unknowable. Yet Mr. Bonham must be aware that the scientific use of the imagination has added to the sphere of science a supersensual region of indefinite extent. Besides, there is a supersensual world of thought and feeling which may properly excite something of that reverence which is Mr. Bonham's "last enemy to be destroyed."

The two chapters on ethics contain some of the clearest thinking and the strongest criticism in the book, showing, as they do, how contradictory are the ethics of the Christian world and the ethical teachings of the New Testament. In no respect does Mr. Bonham write better than concerning the ethics of the intellect—the duty of believing only what we must, and leaving others free to do the same. So eloquent is he against all arbitrary authority, all fencing off of some things as sacred and inviolable, that Lucretia Mott's favorite sentence, "Truth for authority, not authority for truth," might well have been the motto of his book. The sincerity of the believer and the consolation inherent in his belief as sanctions of its truth are well discussed, and with results extremely damaging to time-honored fallacies. As a whole, the book is one to send back the apologists for traditional opinions on their reserves. They cannot meet it with their ordinary thin array. If the manner of the book were equal to its matter, it would be much more impressive. That even then it would make the author's world without religion attractive to the noblest minds, or persuade them that the most characteristic aspect of human nature has been the most unreal, we have some serious doubts.

*Autobiography and Letters of George Henry Pertz, Editor of the Monumenta Germanica.*

Edited by his wife. London. Privately printed. 8vo, pp. 226.

AMERICAN students at the University of Berlin between 1842 and 1872 remember Pertz as the dignified and learned superintendent of the Royal Library. To a much wider circle he is known as the patient and admiring biographer of Prussia's great statesman, in the Napoleonic period, Baron vom Stein, and also as the biographer of Gneisenau. But his highest claim to remembrance is the service that he rendered to German history by editing and publishing the long series of historical memoirs, 'Scriptores, Leges, Diplomata,' which is known in all great libraries under the title of 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica.' Dr. Pertz belonged to the class of scholars who early make choice of a career, under favorable circumstances, and adhere thereto with unflinching fidelity and industry, indifferent to the applause of the multitude, and satisfied by the consciousness of rendering lasting benefit to future generations. So long as men study the mediæval history of Germany, it will be necessary to consult that row of folio volumes which he initiated, and edited for many years, and which is still increasing under the control of younger men. Heeren gave him the impulse, saying to his student in Göttingen (who thought of writing a life of Louis the Pious), "Do not occupy yourself with modern books, but go to the contemporary sources of history, and a light will dawn upon you." Stein gave him opportunity by inviting him in 1819 to undertake the historians of the Carolingian period, and proposing that he should go and examine the manuscripts to be found in South Germany and Vienna, at the expense of the newly founded "Society of those who are interested and learned in German history." Recognition of his ability soon came in other quarters, and the rest of his life was tranquil and secure, crowned with honors to its close in 1876, in his eighty-second year.

The volume before us gives the portrait of a modest, learned, and able scholar, who, like many other librarians and editors, cared more to rescue from oblivion historical papers than to construct upon them readable summaries, either biographical or historical. It was a curious incident of his boyhood that when Hanover, his native town, was held in subjection by the French army (in 1813), the French prefect, being a man who appreciated learning, offered to the schoolboys, as a prize, freedom from conscription. This prize fell to Pertz, whose subsequent life was devoted, indirectly, to intensifying the love of German unity, and whose son Hermann, nearly sixty years later, led a company of two hundred pioneers from Hanover to Strasbourg at the beginning of the war of 1870-71.

In Berlin, where he resided after 1842, Pertz was in the centre of all that made the Prussian capital the home of learning. Humboldt, Ritter, the Grimms, Ranke, Lepsius, Ehrenberg, Rose, Trendelenburg, Boeckh are among the names that then gave lustre to intellectual society. There are many glimpses of that life, and a few also of that of the court circles. Here, for example, is a visit to Frederick Wilhelm IV., at Sans-souci, in 1842: "The King sent for me. He was cheerful at dinner, made inquiries on several literary subjects—the history of the Guelphs, and the archives of Hanover. The Queen spoke with me feelingly about Niebuhr's letters, his character, and his children. Then I had a long talk with Humboldt. We discussed the latest scientific and political events." Here is a meeting of the Academy,

where Raumer and Ranke "entertained the King and two Princes with a refutation of the charge that Frederick II. was the most immoral of sovereigns." "Raumer spoke with less indecision than in his history. Ranke [famous for his rapid utterance] was not understood by many, but seemed to endeavor to be distinct, and Steffens pulled his coat-tail whenever he hurried too much." Here are some incidents of the uprising in 1848: "At this moment, the King is riding through the streets and he is proclaimed Emperor of Germany. May God protect him." "The King protested earnestly, and refused to accept the title." "We must now strain every nerve to stand together firmly united in opposition to the threatened subversion of everything. The question is whether we, as a free and great people, shall stand united, or, despising history, shall for a second time fall dismembered." Here is mention of Bismarck in 1862. Pertz writes:

"I spent Wednesday evening with Prof. Sybel at L. Ranke's. The conversation turned, of course, mostly upon our politics; no one could tell what turn things might take. Since the King has appointed Bismarck President of his Cabinet and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Bernstorff and Van der Heydt have resigned. Bismarck was formerly a decided ultra-aristocrat, but is said to have improved since and turned more to the liberal side, after the experience which he had in Frankfurt. Time alone will show what the country will have in him. He is thought to be very bold and determined, which is a quality of doubtful value."

In England as well as in Prussia, Dr. Pertz was at home, having married Miss Horner in 1854. This marriage and his antiquarian researches brought him often into intimate relations with many of the leading personages in literary and scientific circles. In Bavaria he also made repeated visits during the latter part of his life.

This volume, being almost wholly autobiographic, does not give any critical estimate of the work of Dr. Pertz—that must be sought elsewhere; but it does convey the impression of a sincere character, devoted through a long life to a high ideal, with constantly increasing tokens of admiration and respect not only from his own countrymen, but from historical scholars in France, Italy, and England. Of his domestic life, one who knew him well has said:

"He was a man of strong affections, of a keen, even enthusiastic nature, although he had obtained so complete a mastery over himself that, except upon occasions, few would suspect the warmth which lay beneath his calm exterior; a patriotic sentiment, the call of friendship, or a touch of tenderness towards his own family alone betraying the impetuosity of his feelings."

*The Journal of Martha Pintard Bayard, London, 1794 to 1797. Edited by S. Bayard Dod. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1894.*

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land, of court life, and of "persons of honour and quality," such as we have read in the printed letters of other American women of those same years—the letters of Mrs. Elliot and of Lady Cathcart and Lady Carnegie. Mrs. Bayard told also the trivial events of every-day life—the food, service, methods of travel, diversions of the past century, and what she calls the "tip of the modes." Finally, she gave some intelligent and spirited descriptions of foreign scenes, such as of Bath and Ranelagh. Old James Howell says that "letters shew the inside of a man"; such diaries as this show still more truly the inner life of a woman—in this case of an acute, religious, lovable, highly patriotic, eighteenth-century American woman.

An agreeable and useful addition to this book would have been notes of identification and explanation of the many interesting persons referred to. The book is illustrated with portraits of the diary-writer and her husband.

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